



# Maclean's

PRINCE CHARLES AT 40



## STRAIGHT TO THE HEART

It began as a routine election campaign. Then, Brian Mulroney, John Turner and Ed Broadbent faced off in a pivotal TV debate. Suddenly, Free Trade became one of the most emotional issues ever to confront Canadians. Now, the nation is about to decide its future.



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# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE NOVEMBER 14, 1988 VOL. 121 NO. 47

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## CANADA/COVER

### STRAIGHT TO THE HEART

*Bitter exchanges over the merits of the free trade agreement with the United States overshadowed other issues as the election campaign entered a feverish phase. Canadians faced the task of weighing the agreement's costs and benefits. But politicians resorted to emotional appeals and personal attacks as fact fought fear for the hearts and minds of the voters.* — 12

## SPECIAL REPORT

### CHARLES III—IN WAITING

*As he approaches his 60th birthday next week, Prince Charles seems to have emerged with a new confidence and new public respect. British author Anthony Holden chronicles the fortunes of the often-misunderstood Prince of Wales in essays from his new book, Charles.* — 38



## WORLD

### RELIGIOUS POWER PLAY

*The right-wing Likud bloc and the centrist Labour Party duked it out in the Israeli election. Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir—interviewed by Maclean's after the vote—was negotiating to form a coalition government with the small, but increasingly powerful, religious parties.* — 24



COVER PHOTO BY GUY AROCH

# An Epidemic of Misuse

The extent that all hope had evaporated from the free trade debate was never clearer than it was on the campaign trail last week. In Victoria, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney held a spur-of-the-moment debate with several protesters. One of them claimed that Section 3807.9 of the proposed accord would give the Americans no spending to force Canada to demand its social programs. In fact, that provision deals with a trivialized to settle trade disputes between the two countries. That kind of misuse of the accord's provisions has become an epidemic in the current campaign.

Nesbitt Editor Joe Corliss who co-anchored this week's news package, commented that the trade agreement has become the title of a controversial new religious. Added Corliss: "By using chapter and verse, both sides on the same week analysis converts. Supporters and opponents often quote provisions of the accord entirely out of context to reveal its benefits or warn of its potential dangers." Senior Writer Frances Kaprielian said that in reporting and writing part of the package, he found that it was almost impossible to get people to turn their attention to issues other than free trade. And Associate Editor Paul Kellis said: "The trade issue is critical, of course, but the danger is that when a new government takes office, we will know where it stands on that issue—but not on any others."

Next week, a senior Mulroney's reporting and writing team will present a special 34-page package that will explain—in a factual, objective way—all of the major provisions of the free trade accord. The report will take readers through each major section of the proposed agreement and explain the basic thrust of the articles. It will represent the magazine's best attempt to make the terms of the accord fully accessible in the critical week before the Nov. 21 federal election.

*Kevin Doyle*



*Kellis (left), Corliss and Kaprielian the title of a controversial new religious.*

## Nesbitt's

Canada's Weekly Magazine

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## LETTERS

### 'OUTRAGEOUS RED HERRING'

Your article on the Reichmann family ("Big dollar battle," Cover, Oct. 24) appeared objective until the comparison between Canadian and U.S. film laws. The contrast described, including the statements "... public figures in the United States are given less protection from libel..." is a red herring. This is a Canadian libel case, involving Canadian publishers and a Canadian family. The reference draws that the Reichmanns would be accorded less protection in a different country, in view of the libel laws of that country, is an outrage.

Allen DeNoyez  
Riverside, B.C.

In your interesting feature on the Reichmann family, you omitted a rather amusing fact: Our translation of the German name Reichmann is "rich man."

Maria Hogg  
Hannover

### THE CLOTHES MAKE THE MAN?

I wish to draw attention to the photo portraits of the three federal party leaders in your Canada/Cover of Oct. 16: profiling the current election campaign. Two sets of photos are included of each leader: why do you see fit to present Ed Broadbent as a man unable to afford a suit? Is this consistent with his "ordinary Canadian" slogan? I have to wonder if it isn't Maclean's way of "letting us know" this man isn't a serious contender for the office of prime minister.

Jean-Pierre Forget  
Guelph, Ont.

### STRIKING OUT ON FACTS

As the wife of a Bell Canada employee, I was shocked to read "Slow poisons" (Guelph News, Sept. 24). Where have you people been? We wait, at the time entering our 14th week of legal strike, and you have us for only eight weeks. Come on—wake up and show your support by reporting the correct facts.

Cheryl Lefson  
Keweenaw, Ont.

### OFFENSIVE VIEWING

In your article and review of David Cronenberg's film *Dead Ringers* ("A bad abortion," and "Nightmares and double vision," Film, Sept. 19), you speak to viewers as if some names could be extremely offensive to viewers, especially women. Indeed, in three different reviews of this film printed recently, critics saw it as being badly directed, badly-



Paul Reichmann: libel laws

ly acted and a departure from Cronenberg's previous style in film-making. When critics agree that viewers should not expect this film to be typical of the scarier fiction/horror film Cronenberg has become known for, then surely they have some small responsibility to indicate just what one can expect in terms of potentially offensive material. Scenes such as a woman lying given an internal examination by a damaged gynaecologist with a large unster-

ilized instrument were seen as disgusting, disturbing and the epitome of bad taste by myself and those who attended the movie with me.

Elaine Anderson  
Barrie/and Ash

### DIFFERENT HEAPS

The short article "A message on the road" ("Disposing Notes," Oct. 10) touting the biodegradability of some polyethylene is seriously flawed. It leaves the reader with the mistaken impression that all we have to do is mix starch and vegetable oil into all polyethylene and, presto, all our plastic waste problems disappear in 40 days. While you may have made a true statement about one type of polyethylene under one set of very impractical conditions, the more realistic track to that magazine's message and most other forms of plastic waste end up in municipal landfills, which are quite a radically different heap than your compost heap. Conditions such as soil content, bacteria and moisture, which play a vital role in biodegradability, are not present in municipal garbage dumps. I submit that your biodegradable plastic magazine wrappers will still be very much alive long after their 40-day death sentence.

Peter Nul  
Aurora, Alta.

## PASSAGES

**DIED:** Actor, director and producer John Housman, 56, whose portrayal of Charles Kestrel, the crusty law professor in the 1978 movie *The Paper Moon*, was his last Oscar at 71, of "spinal cancer at his home in Malibu, Calif. Born in Romania, Housman worked as a grain broker in Britain, Argentina and Canada—in Winnipeg and Vancouver—before moving to the United States in 1964. He turned to the theatre after losing his business in the Depression. An early success was as coproducer with Cronwell of *The War of the Worlds*, the revivified 1955 radio program about nuclear annihilation. His final role was the father of the lead character in the musical movie, *Amadeus*.



**AWARDED:** Damages of \$650,000 to Rose Stark, 35, Prince Andrew's former palatinate, by a London High Court jury, which found that the British tabloid *Sunday People* had defamed the underage-swamp actress. The newspaper alleged in 1985 that the married Stark had an affair with the prince, who was single at the time.

**ASSIGNED:** National Film Board chairman François Macrielle, 46, to oversee operations of a new \$50-million film and TV production centre to be built in Montreal effective Dec. 1.

**APPOINTED:** Chairman of the Canada Council, Allan Goddard, 60, who has resigned as Canadian ambassador to the United States, effective on Jan. 1. While Goddard takes over for honorary, unstarred chair-

man's post, the federal government also announced that Jacques Gauthier, 48, will take over day-to-day operations as the council's new director. An art historian, Gauthier was dean of fine arts at Toronto's York University.

**REMOVED:** Conductor Zubin Mehta, 52, as music director of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, effective at the expiry of his contract in 1991. The Bombay-born Mehta was music director of the Montreal Symphony Orchestra from 1963 to 1987.

**DIED:** Award-winning pianist Alfred Brendel, 52, in his home in the Montreal suburb of Laval in 1985, the Quebec City-born pianist died because the heart Canadian, to have a solo exhibit at Ford's renowned Musée national d'art moderne.

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## LETTERS

### DECISIONS, NOT FORTUNES

I totally object to your article "Return on campaign" (Canada, Oct. 24), where you refer to the outcome of the elections as something to "make or break political fortunes." That is about what our elections are supposed to be about. Unfortunately, they seem to have developed into a spectacle sport where individuals back a candidate to match the same way they back sports richbros. We are not watching to see whose for future will be made. It's up to one's will. We are watching to see who will make the decision. That's not a fortunate position for anyone to be in.

Sandra Skylesman,  
St-Amand-de-Bellême, Que.

### PERVASIVE PROBLEMS

Your article "Defending the Amazon" (Environment, Sept. 18) detailed the plight of the indigenous peoples of Brazil in the face of widespread hydroelectric development. The comments that various dams "have been built with little regard for the native people" and that "Indians were forcibly relocated and thousands of acres of virgin forest were flooded" rings true to Canada as much as it does in Brazil. In rushing to construct these hydro-



McInnes debating; specter sport

electricity, the rights of the Indian and Métis peoples have been consistently ignored. The hydroelectric movement has been a globally pervasive one, and Canadians must always look at their own backyard whenever the plights of indigenous peoples are detailed.

James Muldown,  
Saskatoon

### THE CORRECT THING

Regarding "Memories of abuse" (Canada, Oct. 25, 1994), Japan and Canada were far different countries than they are now. Japan

was a very powerful military force rapidly rising over the Pacific. Canada was very British, with a small population, a large coastline and little military strength with which to defend it. Our Japanese population were relatively recent immigrants with close family ties to Japan. At that time, moving them inland was the correct thing to do. The sad thing now is that the apology and settlement from Ottawa are obviously not a matter of righting a wrong but of political expediency before an election.

Albert Scott  
La Ronge, Sask.

### A RAZOR OF TRUTH

Alan Patheingraham's "Quelling of the prospect of Dai" (Column, Oct. 24) is a masterful razor of truth and wit from a writer who, in my opinion, deserves a special mention. Dan Quayle reminds me of a young John Turner: a blunder ready and waiting to perform.

Meredith Joy,  
Toronto

I am a great admirer of Alan Patheingraham and never miss his columns. However, he slipped up in his article on Dan Quayle. Lincoln was not succeeded by Andrew Jackson, but by Andrew Johnson, who served one term. He was impeached and passed around from office by one vote. Andrew Jackson (Old Hickory) was born about a century earlier (1767). He

served as a senator in the Revolutionary War and as a general in the War of 1812. He became the seventh president of the United States in 1829.

Monet Keady  
Winnipeg

### REDUCED DEFICIT

Peter C. Newman writes that "Twenty-one years of Liberal rule left the national treasury \$146 million in the hole, and the debt has been only slightly reduced by Mulroney." ("A watershed at the polls," Canada, Oct. 18). What was slightly reduced by Mulroney was not the debt but the budgetary deficit, which is the amount by which the national debt increases each year. The national debt has continued to increase every year.

Brian Foxworth,  
Ottawa

### RELIGIOUS RELICS

Millions of pilgrims have not "prayed to the Shroud of Turin," as you state in "Lifting the veil" (Religion, Oct. 24). Christians never pray to relics or supposed relics, but believe them. Relics are cherished, preserved and respectfully displayed because of their associations, as are any great historical figure's books, clothing, house or other possessions. The effect of being in the presence of this

relic is conducive to prayer that is directed to God and His saints, not to the object. If all historically or religiously venerated objects disappeared or proved fraudulent, the persons with whom they were associated would still be remembered, honored or missed.

Barbara Spiller,  
Regina

The article concerning the Shroud of Turin was interesting in a historical sense, but in the final analysis—no what? If you are an atheist, could movement wires at the thought of all those poor ignorant pilgrims paying to a dirty piece of cloth? Is sort of justice your article, don't it?

Nash Baker,  
Edmonton

### MOURNING A LOSS

After reading Peter C. Newman's article on the condition of Canada's Liberal party ("The catalysts facing national politics," Business Week, Oct. 24), I can only count the loss of critical information resources. If Newman had researched upon "the main reason the Liberals have plummeted to last place" (rather than with a featherlight question referring to "what is good and what is beautiful"), and had outlined the principles upon which Canadian Liberals was founded, we might have a better educated public with a basis on which to

criticize our differences in national policies. What has happened is the critical issue that states a position and supports it with clear evidence!" (Alison Brooks, Guelph, Ont.)

### CANADA'S BACK DOOR

Regarding the line in Business Week on the Oct. 2 issue ("How to keep real and imagined facts at bay"), which reads "Why Canada needs two front doors—one each on the Pacific and Atlantic—to be part of the Pacific Century," just not sure that the author and the media make us both count took note of Canada's back door, Churchill, Man., which will be vital in the event of aggression? We just don't get no respect.

Peter Warren,  
Winnipeg

### LIBERAL PORTIONS

Sept. 18's Letters devotes almost half the attention space to problems by John Turner and Warren Christopher about alleged personal use of campaign funds, although this topic is prominently covered in the major article "Turkey under fire" (Canada) a few pages later. That is correct, assuming Maclean's is not trying to look like a Liberal house organ.

Stanley Dubois,  
Midland, Ont.

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#### A HALLOIGANIAN HERO

Canada won 16 medals in the Olympics. It's not money, so we should remember them all. One of the finest representatives of those winners, both in demeanor and sportsmanship, was bronze medalist Raymond Jonsson. In your article "A golden end to the Games" (Olympics, Oct. 30), you ignored him entirely. Fortunately, Hallogans have not. He has done us proud.

*Jerilyn MacLenn,  
Halifax*

#### 'NORMAL' MEN

Your article "Rape on campus" (Belmont, Oct. 31) borders on an important but often-ignored point. Rapists are not usually deeply disturbed misogynists on the rampage, as they are often portrayed. Most often they are acquaintances such as the fraternity members you described. The sooner people acknowledge that most rapists are supposedly "normal" men, the sooner steps can be taken to prevent their reprehensible behavior.

*Kirsten MacLeod,  
Toronto*

#### A DUBIOUS MATTER

Peter Newman, in your Oct. 17 issue, describes Brian Mulroney's promise to reduce the deficit to \$3 billion by 1990 a "dubious" target ("Deficits, promises and credibility," Business Week). Surely Newman agrees with the target, and it is achieving it which he feels is dubious?

*John Leach-Saunders,  
Montreal*

#### FULL MEMBERS OF SOCIETY

I read Allan Fotheringham's Oct. 30 column with interest ("The Johnson saga in perspective," Column). His comments regarding drug use in sport and longevity in government are, sadly, all too likely to be true. However, his assertion that Canadian national sports teams have been built "at the expense of imported talent" is both disconcerting and unjust. Many Canadians were born in other lands, emigrated and found in Canada the opportunities they required to fully express their talents. Ben Johnson and other Canadian athletes may be immigrants, but they chose to live here and are now full participants in our society. It is their right to represent Canada, just as it would be Mr. Fotheringham's. To suggest immigrants are not good representatives of Canada cheapens their contributions to our nation.

*D. Mark Smith,  
Kilus, Ont.*

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should note the address and telephone number for their correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Attention Reader Mail, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.



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# OPENING NOTES

Ben Johnson makes a hasty exit, Thomas McMillan strikes back and James Michener's threat to vote with his feet

## A RUNNER'S EXIT

Ben Johnson's face has largely disappeared from the evening news, but his story is far from forgotten. On Oct. 30, five weeks after being stripped of his Olympic gold medal, the sprinter ventured into Scotland Yard, a popular Toronto night spot, and immediately became the centre of attention. Throughout the bar, wags joked about Johnson's use of anabolic steroids, the banned substance detected in his urine after he won the 100m dash at the Summer Olympics in Seoul. When he escorted a woman to the dance floor, patrons loudly commented on the runner's "dive" dancing. Later, as he drank a beer at the bar, an unidentified man approached him. When Johnson tried to turn away, the other customer grabbed his arm, starting a fight. Two bouncers immediately intervened, expelling Johnson's accuser from the bar and allowing the athlete, a regular customer, to leave by another exit. The incident was further proof that Johnson can run from his troubles but he cannot hide.



Johnson: a brewing confrontation in a bar

## A story waiting to be told

During a 21-year professional fighting career, George Chuvalo lost to such boxing greats as Muhammad Ali and Joe Frazier—but he was never knocked out. Now, Toronto sportsman Stephen Lisak says that the former Canadian heavyweight champion is also skilled at boxing on his feet outside the ring. Lisak told *Marlowe* that for the past two years, he and Chuvalo had discussed collaborating on the boxer's literary history. Instead, Dennis Schen, an editorial director for publisher McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., said that "since most TV pay rates in place when Chuvalo ended negotiations," Declared Brawl "A lot of boxes are punched about people taking advantage of them." In the past, Chuvalo has discussed his

autobiography with other writers—with set results. Chuvalo has always been wary of respect at close quarters.



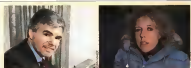
Chuvalo: a boxer's secrets

## Breakfast for champions

For the past decade, supermarkets have reflected the growing health consciousness seen in North America. Now, Rosemary Farms Co. of California has developed a remarkable product: light eggs. After eating an all-natural chicken feed, their hens are hatching eggs with half the traditional cholesterol content. Last month, Californians bought more than one million light eggs. Still, Rosemary Farms has put only a third of its hens on the new diet. The *fat* will have to become more entrenched before the first taste of its eggs in one basket.

## Busy signals on the Rock

It's the talk of the province. Last week, *Marlowe* Telegraph and Telephone Co. Ltd. announced that the citizens of Newfoundland make more phone calls than residents of any other province. On average, Newfoundlanders make more than 3,000 calls apiece each year, outpacing Nova Scotians, who stand in second place, by more than 50 per cent. According to the announcement, the most taciturn Canadian live in Saskatchewan. A *Marlowe* company spokesman offered a simple explanation for Newfoundland's workload factor: "Quite frankly, we're a talkative bunch. We love to chat." At any price, it seems.



McMillan: May's accusations against a former adviser

## BURNING THEIR BRIDGES

When Elizabeth May left her job last June, the former policy adviser to Environment Minister Thomas McMillan announced that she would burn any bridges. But while the spirited May praised McMillan's overall record, she also claimed that the ministry had granted a licence for Saskatchewan's Radium Dene project as a result of a political deal—without fully exploring the environmental consequences. Last week, May announced on CBC Radio's *InterView*, in Charlottetown, that she had disagreed

harshly with the minister over the need for a bridge linking Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. McMillan, who the Islander, brought back, telling Charlottetown's *The Evening Freeman* that May's departure had "nothing to do with policy." McMillan added that May had promised to "make life difficult" for him if he did not provide her with a "very rich severance package." May told *Marlowe* that the minister's comments to be "inappropriate." The minister and May now have several differences to bridge.

## MESSAGES ON THE WASHROOM WALL

Canadian moviegoers have already accepted—however grudgingly—a barrage of commercials before their feature-length entertainment. Now Toronto hangoutman Mark Solomon is planning to capitalize on another previously commercial-free zone: theatre washrooms. Solomon's company, In-Staff Ads, already has contracts to place ads on rest room walls and the inside doors of washroom cubicles in 75 commercial establishments. By January, he expects to expand his client list to at least 100, including movie theatres across the country. Andrew LaFay, the chief operating officer for Mr. Greenleaf's restaurants, said in Toronto that customer reaction to the ads—black cost as much as \$350 per month—has been overwhelmingly positive. Bathrooms reading with a twist.



## Reading smoke signals

In her 1986 autobiography, Elizabeth Taylor proudly recounted that she had shed 80 lb and conquered her addiction to drugs and alcohol. In telling her story, the actress became an inspiration to millions. But in early August, *The Washington Post* reported that Taylor had been seen at a wheelchair at London's Heathrow Airport. When spokesmen for the 56-year-old actress denied that she had been at the airport, the *Post* printed a correction. Two weeks ago, Elizabeth Taylor, a *Golden Globe* winner in bookends, trumpeted Taylor's philosophy of "love survival from within." But that same week, London's *Sunday Times* claimed that Taylor's problem with "drugs, pills and weight are back." According to her assistant, the actress is currently recuperating from a recent back pain in a hospital in Santa Monica, Calif. There's smoke, but is there fire?

Taylor: suspension to millions

## A northern fondness

James A. Michener, the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of such mighty best-sellers as *Hawaii* and *Poland*, has



Michener: against Bush

nursed his attention to Canada. Last week, the writer then in Toronto to launch his new novel, *Journey*, a saga of the Klondike goldrush that Michener, 81, surprised dinner guests—including author Flannery O'Connor—by announcing that he was also "joining the party," if George Bush was the presidential nominee, he would move to Toronto.



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## The small-screen vision of Israel

BY BARBARA AMIEL

There were four of us who met on a late October morning at the crossroads just outside Hebron, in the Israeli-occupied West Bank—myself and a crew of three from Swedish television. The Swedes were making a documentary about the youth of Israel. I was writing about the Israeli elections for the *London Times*. We had wanted to see how individual Israeli soldiers were coming to terms with fighting the arabs—the continuing rebellion by young Arabs in Israel's occupied territories. We set off with an Israeli patrol at 8:30 a.m. in an area that was slowly being taken over by the Israelis.

At about 9:45, Sharon Bechrit, the Swedish-speaking interpreter for the TV crew, took a good look at the three-area patrol that they were about to film and pronounced sentence: "They're too old," she admonished the escort officer accompanying us. He reduced in for another patrol, clearly under orders to placate whoever funded the press exhibit. The second patrol came the same time. "They're in their late 40s," she exploded with all the politeness of a 28-year-old. "Actually, they're reserves of a 28-year-old. Actually, they're reserves of me," our 28-year-old escort officer told me. "Twenty-five to 28."

The first set of soldiers passed muster, but a stark moment transpired when the young Israeli found out that the Swedes wanted to interview them in the Gush, where the streets are crowded and narrow and security is difficult. The man came in front of the Gush was the compromise, and we set off. It was 10 o'clock by the time our three-step procession pulled up in the middle of Hebron. By 10:10, the interview was going strong. The first patrol question to the nine soldiers appeared to be "How can you do this work?" They hesitated that one easily—"It's a job that has to be done. My political feelings don't count," etc. But their sense of vulnerability was more of a problem. They kept jerking their heads around, scanning the crowds of Arabs who were watching us in growing numbers—old men and groups of teenage boys, laughing and watching

trouble. Hebron is a communications war, and it isn't always the Arabs for exploiting any opportunity the enemy gives them. To carry on control life in a land of a whirling reel of videotape would nullify the essential complaint that life under occupation is not normal. Myself, if I were the Israelis, I'd tell my journalists with television cameras that they are on their own if they want to go in and film in occupied territory. If the Arabs want to throw stones at Swedish television, so be it. "We can't do that," said Moshe Shalev, director of communications. "We must find a way to have free press and to protect them."

There is a story to be done by journalists in Israel but it is not the one I think that they most often choose. Perhaps it is a matter, anyway, of metaphysics and professions of ethics rather than reporters. It concerns the dilemma of a people whose character and creed are at total odds with their geopolitical situation. The Israelis have spent 40 years being invaded, terrorized and threatened with extinction. In that time, they have given back land in order to win peace (Gaza, 1967), declared themselves ready to talk peace had nearly half a million people demonstrating in the peace movement and professions to give peace as a pragmatic strategy of various Arab leaders, none of whom since the late president Anwar Sadat has been willing to sit down with the Israelis and negotiate accordingly. They have asked only for a declaration that the people with whom they negotiate state that Israel has a right to exist unimpaired. Without such a declaration, of course, any agreement would be spurious.

The response to all this has been negligible. But one can only marvel at a people who seem so determined to see the best in their enemies and whose liberal humanism has them some guidelines to their soldiers forbidding them to fire back at point-blank distances and allowing them to shoot only over the heads of rooms.

Such a situation breeds cynicism, of course, and some of the upstart television commentators I have seen work on Israeli TV. They were made by the upstart parties filling in the gap after the banning of Meir Kahane's Kach party. The message was simple and crude: depict the Arabs as, in the euphemism of the times, "terrorist" threat. Still, not most that one to live Israelis in 1993 should not feel, and it may be useful to remember that France, with its large immigrant population of workers from North Africa, produced a National Front party with similar deportation policies that attracted the support of 14 Frenchmen in 1993 in last April's voting—and in a country at peace.

To the outside, the situation looks increasingly gloomy. But Israelis have a different look on life. "Peace can come out of exhaustion and fatigue," says Gers, Avraham Tzoref, director-general of the foreign office and a leading strategist in the 1967 war. "It doesn't come from war and exhaustion." Well, maybe. I'm still looking at the boulder, though, that I brought back from Hebron. It took a strong arm to throw it, and that arm seems uncomfortable in its place.

*The stones started.  
They use boulders,  
not pebbles or rocks,  
and I can see how  
they put the fear  
of death in a man*

We heard the sound of steel shutters being pulled down over shop fronts about 10 minutes into the filming. Ronnie Dauschitz, the escort officer, said it was time to return. It was, as expected, he explained, that the shopkeepers had been warned there would be trouble.

The Swedish producer turned nasty when a frightened Israeli soldier put his hand on the camera lens to hurry the group away. "What do you think you're doing to the camera?" scolded the producer, and he was useful to remember that France, with its large immigrant population of workers from North Africa, produced a National Front party with similar deportation policies that attracted the support of 14 Frenchmen in 1993 in last April's voting—and in a country at peace.

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I suppose the Israelis are damned if they do and damned if they don't. A television camera pointed at a group of Arabs in a marketplace for



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## STRAIGHT TO THE HEART



**THE EMOTIONAL  
CLASHES OVER  
FREE TRADE ARE  
DOMINATING  
THE CAMPAIGN**



"Canada, having once become the commercial and industrial model of the United States, would be initially beset by political unrest of that country and ultimately be absorbed." —Prime Minister Robert Borden in 1911, after his successful, emotionally charged crusade against free trade with the United States in the 1911 election campaign

With an unexpected victory, Canada's recurring export struggle over free trade with the United States was thrust into the eye of the 1988 federal election campaign

but weak. Once again, Canadians faced the task of weighing the potential costs and benefits of a trade agreement with the United States. In the wake of an electrifying coordination over the proposal between Liberal Leader John Turner and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney during the English-language televised leaders' debate on Oct. 26, emotional arguments on both sides of the issue were unfurled—and that fought fear for the hearts and minds of Canadian voters. "It is an old debate being played out in a new way," said University of Toronto historian Michael Bliss. "Once you unleash the disappointed Canadian fear of being taken over by the United States, it is pretty potent." And with the flash of a TV newscast,

the previously sleepy campaign for the Nov. 20 election was transformed into one of the most critical—and noisiest—elections in Canadian history.

**Conclusion:** The bitterness of the campaign and the contradictory claims about the potential effects of free trade succeed to outpace the confusion among Canadians (page 18). But the passion of Turner and New Democratic Party Leader Ed Broadbent's anti-accord stands and their charges that the past four-year Conservative's record programs had a dramatic effect on Canadian public opinion. In the days following the French and English debates, the Gallup polling organization reported a 19-per-cent shift in voters' attitudes—the largest single change ever recorded by the organization in its 41-year history—and said that its latest figures gave the Liberals the lead in Ontario and Atlantic Canada. At worst's end, an Insight Canada poll pegged for the City Television Network gave the Liberals 46 per cent of the decided vote, the Conservatives 37 per cent, and the NDC 16 per cent. With the Tories' chances for a majority government suddenly endangered, pro-free-trade groups and individuals—from a coalition of business leaders to Susan Brennan, Canada's chief negotiator in the trade talks—entered the debate.

The shifting campaign even affected the Canadian dollar, which fell 1.66 cents in a

single day (page 16). And as the two sides in the debate accused each other of misleading the electorate, their passion unleashed almost every other issue (page 16). Sharp words and shouted shouts became the staple of all three parties' campaign tours. In a campaign swing through Manitoba last Friday, Mulroney ridiculed Turner's claim that free trade would reduce jobs and said, "It is pretty clear that the only job John Turner is interested in protecting is his own." For his part, Turner—in Victoria Thursday—launched a pro-free-trade advertising campaign by business groups and said, "Big business, led by American multinationals, is now trying to buy this election." In an interview with *Maclean's*, Broadbent said what Canadians had to realize was that "the real difference between us and the Liberals and the Tories is on the concept of fairness—whether it is in trade or social policy."

**Notes:** But with just two weeks left in the seven-week campaign, the spoils of the bitter warfare seemed to be going to the Liberals. The party began the campaign fighting for second place in the polls with the NDC, with both of them well behind the Conservatives. But if major polls last week showed that the trade issue had revived the Liberals' electoral prospects, with the party making gains at the expense of both the Tories and NDC, Saul Lerner, Boardman, vice-president of Gallup Canada Inc.,

Turner in Toronto (left); Mulroney in Vancouver: "Four is pretty potent"



## National Notes

## POINTS OF NO DEPARTURE

Canada and the United States jointly declared that neither country will allow backsliding accord that have landed in their territory to take off again.

## DOUBLE DAYLIGHT POLL

The Newfoundland government is polling residents for their opinion on the province's seven-day daylight saving time. Last April, Newfoundlanders left their clocks ahead two hours to give themselves more light at the end of the day.

## FISHING MEDAIDS

France and Canada have chosen Renée Gauthier, a Vancouverian diplomat, to resolve their dispute over fishing rights in the waters of Newfoundland.

## THE PCR AFTERMATH

Most of the 3,600 residents affected by the fire in St. John's in 1987, Quebec last August received a check full of health care medical testing. Testing coordinator Dr. Stephane Gosselin said that high level enzyme levels found in about 200 people tested were not likely the result of exposure to PCBs.

## BYPASSING A BRILLIATION

Conservatives and New Democrats in New Brunswick who hold no seats in the Liberal-dominated legislature have not failed candidates in a Nov. 14 by-election. Party spokesmen said they were protesting against having the by-election during a federal election campaign.

## CBC STRENGTH

The CBC said that it plans to ask the Canada Labor Relations Board to permit changes against one of its employees' union, NABET, after radio and television technicians staged an illegal wildcat strike in Ottawa and parts of the Maritimes.

## HEARINGS END

A 14-month long New Scotia inquiry into the wrongful imprisonment of Michael Jackson Donald Marshall Jr. ended after hearing testimony from 112 witnesses. The three-member commission is expected to present its report early next autumn.

## ACED RAIN APPEAL

Ottawa threatened the U.S. Court of Appeals to force the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency to prosecute companies violating U.S. pollution laws by emitting too much sulphur and nitrogen oxides.

## A HUGE SHIFT IN THE POLLS FOLLOWED THE TELEVISION DEBATES

"Free trade is all that people are talking about. It has a lot of its own momentum."

The new emphasis on trade was undeniable for the NDP, which had crafted a campaign strategy around a broad array of policy proposals. The star's support appeared to be fading in the party's traditional stronghold, particularly British Columbia, but there were no signs that it was making serious inroads elsewhere. Meanwhile, Turner's campaign became an unapologetic nationalist crusade against the deal.

**Reckless:** In turn, the Tory campaign markedly altered its style. Before the leaders' debates, polls consistently showed that the Conservatives would likely win the majority needed to pass the accord. As a result, Mulroney's campaign initially avoided any extensive examination of trade, and the Prime Minister paid little attention to the sea-free-trade leaders who shadowed his campaign tour. Instead, he adopted a status-quoist approach, and his speeches emphasized a wide range of his government's achievements. But as Liberal support rebounded, Mulroney left the high road he advocated some of his sharpest criticisms as Liberal campaign co-chairman Senator Michael Kirby, who said that having the support of the business community was like having the support of the Ku Klux Klan. That, said Mulroney, was "the essence of McCarthyism." Tory planners admitted that they had miscalculated both the boost the Liberals would get if Turner did well in the TV debates and the impact of the Liberal-led campaign. At the same

time, and one prominent Conservative, Mulroney was too cautious during the debates.

Although Mulroney had little choice but to defend his trade agreement, his advisers espoused notions that the campaign was becom-



*Business critics of an old friend*

ing a single-issue contest. In fact, it was not until this year that the government began to actively promote free trade with a much-criticized \$10-million promotional campaign. Now, some Tories say that their strategy may have

been wrong and that they should have been more active in trying to convince Canadians of the benefits of free trade and removing concerns about any potential weakening of Canadian sovereignty. Said one Tory insider, who requested anonymity: "We had a year without the pressures of an election campaign to tell Canadians why the deal is essential to their future. Instead, we gravitated to a line of the concerned businessmen and did a lousy job at soothing the fears of average Canadians."

Now the Tories have to make the case for the accord in the emotionally charged atmosphere of the campaign's waning days. To that end, they sent senior cabinet ministers across the country on a speaking tour last week. In London, Ont., International Trade Minister John Crosbie criticized a group of university students for their attacks on the agreement. He added, "I am not going to be easily-punished when I disagree with a deliberate attempt to deceive the Canadian people by those in the NDP and the Liberal party." And in Ottawa, Finance Minister Michael Wilson warned that the Americans might revoke the 1985 Canada-U.S. Auto Pact if the deal were not approved. Although Wilson was quickly rebuffed by Ontario Premier David Peterson, who described his remarks as "free-economics," the finance minister's comments seemed to make a strong impression, especially in Ontario where one in six jobs depends one way or another on the automobile industry.

**Reckless:** The Conservatives also enlisted Peterson to defend the deal. During several heated exchanges with the media, Peterson angrily denied allegations that Canada's social programs could be dismantled as a result of the accord. Said Peterson: "I would stake my life that our social programs cannot be touched." Business also criticized Turner, a longtime friend. Indeed, that personal relationship has

trade would hurt social programs, he was warning the media, including Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's mother.

"Oh, there's a little something, have you read it?"—International Trade Minister John Crosbie, to a University of Western Ontario student who recalled the minister's admission some months ago that he had not read the entire trade agreement.

"You don't have to smile me to make your arguments, I have not been throwing much at you. Why would you throw it at me?"—another student, objecting to remarks by Crosbie at the same meeting.

"Isn't being blessed by big business a little bit like being blessed by the Ku Klux Klan?"—Liberal strategist Senator Michael Kirby, on business support for free trade.

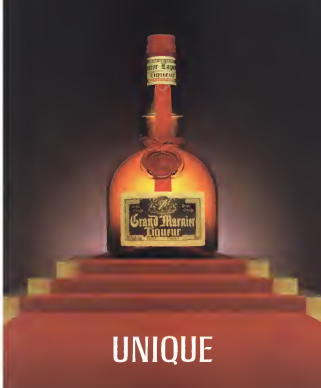
"The examinations of Senator Kirby are the very essence of McCarthyism. Fire him right now!"—Mulroney's advice to Turner.

"Can you imagine David Peterson as minister of defence? I'll tell you that would be some ministerial morning."—Mulroney, in a reference to the NDP's current war, mocking the notion of an NDP cabinet.

"Yuck, yuck, what a jerk."—Turner's wife, Gail, reacting to a University of Victoria student's persistent and pointed questioning of the Liberal leader.

"Have you ever heard such a crack?"—Premier David Peterson, responding to Secretary of State Lucien Bouchard's claim that Ontario's opposition to free trade makes it a "separatist force."

"Mr. Mulroney is the last person that should talk about being a liar. If there was ever a man who profoundly misled and frightened senior citizens, it was the Prime Minister."—Bouchard, responding to Mulroney's accusation that the NDP leader was spreading falsehoods about the impact of free trade.



# UNIQUE

## THE CAMPAIGN'S WAR OF WORDS

Last week, as the three main parties sought voter support by attacking one another over free trade, one of the most influential federal media campaigns in the nation's history unfolded. Some of the most inflammatory remarks:

"I'm getting totally fed up listening to the myths, the lies, the distortions that are being put about by these two men and their candidates about the free trade agreement."—Finance Minister Michael Wilson, attacking Liberal Leader John Turner and NDP Leader Ed Broadbent over their claims that free trade would harm Canada's social programs.

"If the house's been scared by her own son, she must be insane."—Turner, replying to suggestions that, by claiming free

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Automobile production line at Oshawa, Ont.: would the United States tear up the 23-year-old Auto Pact?

# THE FUTURE WITH NO DEAL

## DISPUTING THE POTENTIAL DANGERS



The tremors in the wild money markets alarmed many economists. Last Monday, after the appearance of a public opinion poll showing John Turner's Liberals surging ahead of the Conservatives, the Canadian dollar suddenly dropped sharply in value against its U.S. counterpart. In one day's trading, it fell almost 15 cents to \$1.58 cents, erasing the gains it had made since August. Canadian proponents of the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement swiftly claimed that the reason for the decline was clear: As the possibility of Confederal election of a Liberal government on Nov. 21 increased, so did the likelihood of that government's accepting the trade agreement. The danger, free trade advocates said, had made money markets jittery with uncertainty about the Canadian currency. And Barry Atkinson Cooper, chief economist at Toronto-based stockholders Duffin Fry Ltd., said that the worst was yet to come. If Canada accepted the deal, she declared, "We end up with higher

interest rates, higher inflation, lower dollar—and loss of business confidence."

Turner himself dismissed suggestions that the Liberal rise in the polls had caused the dollar's decline. He noted that financial uncertainty about upcoming election campaigns, British, or American, appeared to go to the polls to elect a new president on Nov. 8, the U.S. dollar also declined against major world currencies. By week's end, the Canadian dollar reversed loss, closing at \$1.60. And in Canada the likely results of accepting the agreement were still unclear. Some economists said that, apart from short-term uncertainty, there would be few negative effects. But others predicted severe economic consequences for Canada. It was also unclear how American politicians would react to a refusal to sign an agreement that has been ratified by both the Senate and the House of Representatives and signed by President Ronald Reagan.

For one part, Tory economists worried to combat what they repeatedly called the "lie" that Liberals and New Democrats were

spreading false free trade. And Yvan Kucuk, the Conservatives' director of communications, "has job now is to dispel all the fear-mongering." But the Tories also helped to create a climate of uncertainty. Finance Minister Michael Wilson raised the spectre of U.S. retaliation, possibly against the 23-year-old U.S.-Canada Auto Pact, if Ottawa did not ratify the trade deal. The Auto Pact, which would be incorporated into the trade accord, controls General Motors Corp., Ford Motor Co. and Chrysler Corp. to having their Canadian subsidiaries manufacture one vehicle in Canada for every one that they sell in the country. Declared Wilson, "Mr. Broadbent or Mr. Turner goes down to the White House and says, 'Mr. President, we've just ripped up the free trade agreement.' The President looks back at Mr. Broadbent or Mr. Turner and says, 'That's the consequence, because we just ripped up the Auto Pact.'"

Finance Prime Minister Brian Mulroney himself ramp the dollar back as a speech to the Barry, B.C., Chamber of Commerce. There, he declared that more than two million existing Canadian jobs are dependent on the security of income to the U.S. market that he said the trade deal will provide. "Turning up the agreement," the Prime Minister claimed, would jeopardize those jobs. And International Trade Minister John Crosbie, who has acted as the government's main free trade spokesman, appeared on CBC TV's *The Journal* to warn of trouble as all investors of Canada refused to implement the deal. "I think I can quote several economic forecasting firms, including The Economic Council of Canada, who indicate the economic results would be a flight of capital from Canada, a failure of investment capital to come in here, a lowering in the value of the Canadian dollar

with a consequent increase in interest rates," he said. "These would be the immediate economic results."

But Crosbie, who ignited a minor controversy when he admitted earlier this year that he had not read all of the trade agreement, apparently overstated the Economic Council of Canada's position. Spokesmen for the council did not directly accuse the minister of misquoting their position. But they swiftly pointed out that the council's April, 1986, report on free trade—the organization's official assessment of the agreement—had concluded that "values to ratify the agreement would be unfortunate but not catastrophic." And although that study found that free trade would significantly benefit Canada, Bentley Major, one of the economists who participated in the report, also drew attention to the study's provision that, even without free trade, Canada's "standard of living would nevertheless continue to improve."

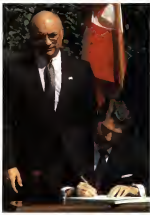
**Uncertain** But some economists assessed a more pessimistic scenario that matched Crosbie's. Cooper, for one, told *Maclean's* that much of Canada's economic growth over the past 35 years has been a result of both domestic and foreign investors pumping money into the Canadian economy in anticipation of free trade. Without the agreement, he said, investors would lose confidence in the Canadian economy. That in turn would cause the dollar to drop drastically—and lead to the bank of Canada raising interest rates. And because a lower dollar makes U.S. exports more expensive, Canada's inflation rate would rise. In the long run, she added, Canada's "growth figures, employment figures, would be lower—and it would be a permanent decline over extended periods."

Cooper and other economists also fell into the dilemma of the trade agreement, the Auto Pact could in fact be jeopardized. Murray Smith, director of international commerce for the Institute for Research on Public Policy, noted that if the U.S. economy suffers a recession during the next few years, more olive oil plants in the United States may be forced to close. In that case, U.S. workers and politicians in automobile-related states could exert strong pressure on Washington to renegotiate the pact and its guarantees of Canadian production—if it is not shelved under the trade agreement.

Washington's olive oil pact was an official commitment on the prospects of retaliation if the agreement is not ratified. In fact, U.S. officials said that there had been little discussion there of the future of the accord. As well,

they said, they were reluctant to consent while Canadians were fighting an election. Trade Representative Clayton Kretz and chief U.S. free-trade negotiator Peter Murphy told Mulroney's through a spokesman: "We have made a conscious decision not to consent. It is a strictly Canadian affair—we do not want anyone to think we are interfering in any way."

Still, some experts said that there would be the potential for retaliation. Michael Krass, a Canadian and a specialist in Canada-U.S. trade relations at George Mason University in Fairfax,



Yester (left): Reagan signing trade accord; dependent jobs

Virginia, said that it is unlikely Canada would escape countermeasures if it ripped up the deal. "There are those in Capitol Hill who will try to make things worse than the status quo with some kind of protectionist legislation," Krass said. "Many people feel there will be a backlash if Canada rejects the package this time." And, said Democratic Senator Max Baucus of Montana, a member of the finance committee and a leading critic of Canadian trade provisions "There will be little political interest here to resist legislation for a second try."

**Wary** Meanwhile, Liberal free trade critic Lloyd Axworthy said that renegotiating the agreement is not on his party's agenda. Instead he said, a Liberal government would be

committed to honoring tariff through multilateral forums—especially at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)—and not leaving the country to bilateral arrangements. Axworthy also said that he has spoken extensively to U.S. officials about trade matters. "They are not going to be silly enough to start retaliating in a way that would disrupt what is a very good trading relationship," he said. And he declared that the fears being raised by the Conservatives are "all part of the meanness approach that the Tories are taking—if you don't get advantages then say, we are all going to lose."

But even experts from the same bank could not agree on the dollar rapid last week. Royal Robertson, Royal Bank of Canada vice president for Saskatchewan, was declared that if the free trade deal did not materialize, the Canadian dollar would drop to 70 cents U.S. and interest rates would rise to as much as 20 per cent. The Bank of Canada last week was at 10.63 per cent. But another Royal Bank executive quickly disputed those statements. Allen Yersh, the bank's assistant chief economist, said that the Canadian dollar would not suffer the effects of free trade because it is now secured, and Yersh added that no connection exists between free trade and interest rates.

**Sharp** Royal Bank officials quickly circulated a memo instructing employees to refrain from public comment. The bank also issued a news release disclaiming any opinions already expressed by bank staff about free trade. The bank said that it "has no intention of participating in partisan debate on the merits of the agreement or the consequences if it were to be nullified." But the bank also declared, "It is our view that should the agreement be fulfilled the immediate effect on Canada would probably be a sharp drop in the value of the Canadian dollar, a correspondingly sharp increase in Canadian interest rates, and a greatly increased risk of recession."

But some economists clearly remained at odds with the bank's official stand. The economist at the Royal Bank seemed to narrow the confusion elsewhere in Canada. He confirmed the uncertainty over the nation's economic future—with or without a U.S.-Canada free trade deal.

**PIETER KOPPELSEN** with **PAUL KAMATA** in Toronto and **WILLIAM LOWMYER** in Washington





Electoral campaigning in Vancouver Centre (above); den Hertog (below): the national Liberal surge brought changes

# SWINGING THE VOTE

## THE PARTIES COURT THE BELLWETHER RIDINGS



The gritty campaign circuit aimed to reflect the candidate's rocky optimism. The Kamnack, the Liberal contender in the Vancouver riding of Vancouver Centre, drove through the city's Kitsilano district on the back of a flatbed truck decorated with posters and posters of Liberal leader John Turner. As Diehard music blared from the truck's sound system, Kamnack, 48, waved to enthusiastic supporters and then stepped down to greet voters with the statement "We are going to win." That prediction may have seemed overoptimistic in light of the Liberal 1984 performance in the riding: the party candidate finished third—only 10,420 votes behind Terry Patterson, Conservative. But Vancouver Centre is one of Canada's volatile swing ridings, so-called because historically they tend to follow the national political mood. And with the Liberal surge following Turner's successful performance in the televised leaders' debates on Oct. 26 and 27, Kamnack was no longer saddled with an underdog image. Almost over-



night, he became a serious contender in the fight with New Democratic Party candidate Johannes den Hertog and Tory Ken Campbell, who was his immediate left-hand man. Campbell decided not to run again.

Indeed, as the campaign enters its final two

weeks, election strategists for all three parties are closely monitoring voter support in 28 so-called swing ridings across Canada to see which way the political winds are blowing. Mostly in urban areas, these ridings contain substantial numbers of uncommitted voters whose support has trended in previous elections to drift toward the winning party. As a result, these ridings usually win or lose, loosely contested election campaigns. Last week, in Turner and his party continued to gain ground, some experts predicted that the fight was swinging in favor of the Liberals. Sen. Lorne Brossard, vice-president of Gallup Canada, Inc., "If this trend continues, you would expect 60 per cent of the swing ridings to go Liberal—if they are true swing ridings—and Turner to win the election." But history has also shown that they could just as easily flow back to the Conservatives if the Tory campaign regains its earlier momentum.

Among the most closely watched bellwether ridings are Vancouver Centre, St. Boniface in suburban Winnipeg, Scarborough Centre and Scarborough West in Metropolitan Toronto,



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## COVER

stage—a contrast to the hostility they claim to have manifested before the debate. Still, the riding clearly remains volatile. Last week, surveyed by Post voters interviewed by *Maclean's* said that they were watching their vote from the Liberals in the Tories because they support the free trade agreement. Among them was Douglas Ferguson, 43, an insurance company vice-president, who said, "I think Canada can prosper."

But the fight in St. Paul's and in the other swing ridings clearly consume more of a party's resources than campaigns for supposedly safe seats. Because no single party has a dominant core of committed voters in a swing riding, they all need more campaign workers to identify and influence the undecided. In Halifax, Conservative Public Works Minister Stewart McLean, 52, is defending his seat against Liberal Mavis Cheay, 40, and the now's Ray Lortie, 58. There, the Tories have about 800 volunteers campaigning for McLean—compared with fewer than 400 in neighboring Tory-held Dartmouth, which is not a swing riding. In the past three elections, Halifax has switched between the Liberals and the Conservatives—twice by narrow margins. McLean's campaign chairman, Ross Brown, said that the volatility comes from the pressure of about 80 swing polls, out of a total of 212, that are often decided by a few votes.

As a result, both the Tories and the Liberals are concentrating on residents of those areas. The Conservatives are courting students enrolled at the riding's three universities—Dalhousie, St. Mary's and King's College. The Liberals, who say they have 1,000 campaign volunteers, are also focusing on students, as well as the highly mobile downtown high-rise apartment dwellers. For his part, one senior Tory acknowledged that Conservative polls have shown that Turner's performance in the debates improved Cheay's candidacy. And the strategy: "The debates have definitely had an impact. We're in a tough fight in Halifax."

In Vancouver Centre, the Tories are trying to consolidate their hold on middle-class house owners in the southern half of the riding, which includes the neighborhoods of Kesteven and Fager Gray. The Liberals and New Democrats are both concentrating on winning votes in two west end communities: senior citizens and homeowning. Some observers to the riding place the Conservatives' Campbell as the front-runner. But last week, Gallop's Bonnell said that the fight was shaping up as a contest between the NDP's Don Horne, who came second in the 1984 election, and Kesteven. With the campaign starting its final two weeks, Bonnell noted that Vancouver Centre is still "too close to call." But that is precisely what sets the swing ridings apart and makes them such an irresistible target for the parties. In those volatile areas, anything can happen in two weeks.

**PAUL KABELLA** is Toronto staff *Maclean's*.  
**SCOTT** is Vancouver and **GLEN ALLEN** is Halifax.

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## THE TWO SIDES DISAGREE ABOUT HOW TARIFFS WILL AFFECT AUTOS

Canadian Auto Workers president Robert White, here said that the safeguards would gradually become meaningless because the deal would eliminate all tariffs over a 10-year period. By contrast, supporters of the second contend that the Auto Pact safeguards will still have strength.

### ENERGY

The free trade provision regulating energy here created great concern, especially in Central Canada, which is a major asset. Those provisions cover oil, natural gas, coal, electric-

ity and uranium. They state that Canada cannot reduce exports to the United States below the average of the preceding 36 months unless it can demonstrate a surplus by a similar proportion. As well, Canada cannot charge Americans more for oil than the domestic price. Free trade opponents say that these commitments would rob Canada of control over its energy resources by handing it to the United States or centralizing energy-sharing. Supporters say that the provisions simply ensure that if the National Energy Board in Canada is satisfied that a surplus in energy exists, U.S. companies would be free to compete with Canadian companies to buy Canadian energy products.

### DISPUTE SETTLEMENT

Under the agreement, both Canada and the United States would still be allowed to impose duties on the other's products that they believe

to be unfairly subsidized. They would also still be entitled to impose retaliating duties on foreign exports found below their cost of production. But the agreement also provides for a seven-year period during which Canada and the United States will try to agree to eliminate those retaliating and safeguarding duties.

Until then, the agreement provides for the creation of five-member panels, composed of two Canadians and two Americans and a chairman who would have to be acceptable to the governments of both nations, to review cases

or violations at the world level includes a binding dispute settlement mechanism. Said Michael Robinson of Toronto, a trade lawyer with Finkler, Martineau, Walker: "The Americans have never before agreed to remove, as the first court of appeal, their Federal Courts and Supreme Court."

In fact, the dispute settlement provisions earned the respect of one liberal candidate in the current election. William Graham, a professor of international law at the University of Toronto who is running in the Toronto riding of Rosedale, wrote a highly favorable assessment of the trade agreement's dispute settlement mechanisms last March. In a 58-page document written for the Ottawa-based Institute for Research on Public Policy, Graham declared, "It is clear that the provisions specified under the free trade agreement are superior to those [GATT] Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] in several respects."

### SOCIAL PROGRAMS

The debate over social programs has perhaps provoked the most anxiety—and the most heat. It begins in a clause in Chapter 16(1) that says that the two countries will attempt to negotiate new rates on acceptable government subsidies over the next seven years. Although that clause does not tie the term social program or welfare to any specific program by name, opponents say that the provision would allow the United States to classify such programs as subsidies and subsequently threaten to subsidize to Canadian manufacturers—and impose heavy penalties if they continue in their present form.

Some experts in trade law disagree. Jean Côté, a professor of international law at Osgoode Hall law school in Toronto, said that in 1979 GATT defined a subsidy as a specific benefit for an individual company or an industry. Both Canada and the United States have interpreted that definition into their trade law.

### INVESTMENT

Under free trade, U.S. investors in a new business in Canada would receive the same treatment as Canadian investors. A similar "national treatment" provision would apply to a new Canadian business in the United States. Still, the agreement preserves all existing exemptions to national treatment such as restrictions on foreign ownership in the energy, communications and transportation industries.

MARY JAMAGAN and SPARKY JENSEN in Toronto



Shopping for appliances: Carmichael (below) plans for a national sales tax

## QUESTIONS IN THE BACKGROUND

### THE PARTIES IGNORE SOME ISSUES



It is an issue that has bedeviled the Conservative government since a vote just after in 1987 when Prime Minister Michael Wilson introduced his proposal for a national sales tax. The finance minister said that Ottawa was introducing the measure to replace another "severely flawed tax."

In the months that followed, and now in the campaign trail, Liberal leader John Turner and New Democratic Party leader Edward Broadbent have repeatedly called on the government to reveal how much the new tax would cost Canadians. But Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has countered with a specific figure. Instead, he says only that the proposal would not affect the federal budget deficit. In talking to that response, Mulroney said not need much light on the complex world of taxation but he has effectively avoided debate on a major tax proposal that would drastically alter the pocketbooks of many Canadians. Indeed the federal battle over free trade has obscured the fact

that all three parties have delicately skirted several of major issues throughout the campaign.

On many of them, such as the Conservative decision to spend \$1 billion on nuclear-powered submarines, all three parties have avoided the debate. On some other issues, such as the tax



of the deficit, opposition leaders have been even more reticent than their Conservative opponent. Ask virtually the public business life about those and other significant issues, such as immigration policy and the March Lake constitutional accord.

The voters face the parties' campaign promises as well as the issues themselves. In most instances, the three camps do have specific policies but they are reluctant to mention them because the topics are political expedients. A call by the New Democrats or Liberals for increased immigration, which they both support, would probably prove a national production of foreigners competing for Canadian jobs. Many issues are also impossible to explain in brief television and radio spots. Discussing the national sales tax, for one, would entail an examination of the entire tax structure. Said Liberal national campaign director John Webster: "It is hard to have a serious discussion about an important issue in a 30-second TV sound bite."

But the most important reason behind the apparent neglect of many issues is that the controversy over the Canada-U.S. free trade accord has absorbed nearly everyone's attention. Says Lorne Carmichael, the vice-president of Gallop Canada Inc., said that after the televised debates on Oct. 24 and 25, voters became caught up in the emotional issues raised by the trade deal. "Free trade has gone from a hot fire at the end to a battle of the brass," he said. "There are other issues, but people are focusing on free trade." Added Conservative communications director Van Kester: "Free trade has become the focus. When we re-establish the comfort zone on that issue, then we can get back to broader issues." Those issues include

### NATIONAL SALES TAX

Under the Conservative proposal presented in June 1987, a national sales tax would replace the manufacturers' sales tax, a levy of up to 12 percent that applies to many manufacturers' goods. The manufacturers' sales tax raised \$12.9 billion last year. But it is riddled with loopholes: it applies to automobiles and major appliances, for example, but it excludes clothing. It also increases the cost of domestic goods more than imported goods. By contrast, a national sales tax would apply to all goods and services, except basic necessities. In that case, with the exception of groceries and prescription drugs, it would also apply to every stage of the production process, from raw material to finished product. A completed system of rebates would ensure that individual companies in a product would not suffer to double taxation.

Details of the new tax have not yet been announced. Finance Minister Wilson has suggested that it should replace both the manufacturers' sales tax and the proposed retail sales tax. In that case, Ottawa would collect the new tax—and remit the required portion to the provinces. But if the provinces do not consent, Ottawa would proceed with its own sales tax, at a probable rate of one per cent, perhaps as late as 1989. If Ottawa does not set its own, its new tax

## FREE TRADE HAS OVERWHELMED DISCUSSION OF MAJOR ISSUES

would apply to all goods and services. The provincial sales taxes would continue to apply to the specified goods that they cover.

It is almost known how much that tax would collect for the federal government. Projections have varied over what the new tax would raise.

A public administration professor Allan Macdonald from Ottawa's Carleton University has speculated that Ottawa will set a rate calculated to generate at least \$4 billion more in federal revenue than the manufacturers' sales tax does. Ottawa's Liberal Treasurer Robert Macdonald, assuming a nine-per-cent rate of taxation, predicted that Ottawa would collect \$24 billion more than it does now. "We've been simply overstated that the tax will be revenue neutral."

Whatever the amount, Wilson has said that the government would use any extra income to lower other taxes and to help lower-income taxpayers. Indeed, the white paper on taxation said that additional revenue would be used for three specific purposes: to remove the three-per-cent surtax that has been in effect on all income taxes since 1986; to lower personal income tax rates; and to increase the current refundable sales tax credit of \$70 per adult and \$25 for each child under 18 among lower-income families. But Robert Carmichael, vice-president of the Toronto-based C.D. Howe Institute, says that the new sales tax credit would have to be "very generous" to win the support of lower-income Canadians.

As a result, he added, the credit would diminish the first step toward a guaranteed annual income because it would make a substantial addition to the pocketbooks of low-income families. "But none of this is being debated or discussed," said Carmichael, a strong supporter of the proposed tax.

Other aspects of the new proposals would also go to the heart of the Canadian tax system. Currently, the full amount of the sales tax credit goes only to families with incomes of \$16,000 or less. Ottawa cuts \$5 from the credit for each \$100 of additional family income. If that does not change, many lower-middle-class families would not receive the credit when the new sales tax goes into place. Critics of the proposed tax call it "regressive" because it would apply equally to all purchasers regardless of their income, and would

cause greater hardship to lower-income families. A "progressive" levy, such as income tax, increases with earnings. Said Macdonald of the proposed sales tax: "You are going to have people who earn about \$20,000 or more who are above the tax credit threshold but who still have relatively low incomes. They are shifting \$4 billion to \$5 billion away from income taxes



Immigrants at Montreal airport; political manoeuvre

and into sales taxes and, so balance, that would be a regressive step."

The Conservatives have simply not addressed these issues in the campaign. Both the Liberals and the New Democrats have vowed to scrap the proposed tax. They said that they will change the existing manufacturers' sales tax—but they do not say how.

### IMMIGRATION

The contentious issue of immigration has rarely surfaced in the campaign—even though academic studies say that the nation may face a labor shortage as the 1990s. From 1945 to 1968, an average of about 145,000 immigrants arrived in Canada each year. That number dropped drastically in the first half of the 1980s: the average immigration level from 1983 to 1986 was approximately 103,000.

This is a startling increase, more than 352,000 immigrants arrived in 1987, followed by more than 118,000 in the first nine months of 1988.

According to most experts, Canada still needs more workers. University of Toronto economist David Fox says that the first indications of a labor shortage are already visible in booming southern Ontario—in the Help Wanted signs for clerks and restaurant help plastered on shop-fronts. As well, the growth of the labor force has slowed to 1.4 per cent in the 1980s from three per cent annually in the 1960s and 1970s because population growth, as general has declined. "People are going to become scarce" and Fox: "If we decide that we want to continue to grow as we have done, then we are going to need significantly above people levels above 150,000 per year."

But the issue—and how best to deal with it—has received little attention from the politicians or the media. The Conservatives have not produced an election policy on immigration levels. The Liberals would put more emphasis on job-creation and retraining. Their policy would set the annual immigration levels of one per cent of the Canadian population—roughly 238,000 immigrants—but Turner has rarely mentioned it during the campaign. The New Democrats have produced a lengthy policy paper on immigration that states the party "is ready to address the pressing need to increase our immigration levels substantially in the future." Said Fox: "People still view immigrants as taking jobs from Canadians, so it may not be politically wise to address the issue."

### THE BUDGET DEFICIT

The Conservatives are proud of their record on the deficit: they have cut it to \$29.5 billion in 1987-1988 from \$38.3 billion in 1984-1985. More significantly, during that same period, the deficit has declined to 4.2 per cent of the gross domestic product from 7.5 per cent.

Still, there are potential problems on the horizon. The national debt—the accumulated total of those annual deficits—reached \$292 billion last March. Many economists say that if Canada goes into a recession, the amount of that debt could cripple the economy—and the deficit would skyrocket. Thomas Courchesne, director of the school of policy studies at Kingston, Ont.'s Queen's University, adds that Canada's household savings rate has dropped to nine per cent of disposable income, down 14 per cent over the past three years. As a result, Canada is now financing a portion of its deficit with foreign borrowing. Said Courchesne: "We

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WARM TO THE EXPERIENCE.

## COVER

could very easily move into a Third World type of debt problem."

The Conservative program calls for steady deficit reduction. When the NDP announces a new policy it also announces revenue measures, usually tax increases, that would let them partly pay for it. The Liberals rarely mention the deficit—although they say that they will provide a cost estimate for their 40-point program before the start of the campaign. Neil McRobb: "In terms of moving money, it is not a problem."

### MEECH LAKE ACCORD

The Meech Lake constitutional accord, finalized in June, 1987, would make fundamental changes to the Canadian Constitution if strong enough Quebec is a "distinct society," a change in the wording intended to protect effective autonomy it allows provinces to "opt out" of a new national shared-cost programs in areas of exclusive provincial jurisdiction and to receive federal compensation if they establish a program "compatible with the national objective," and it provides for a provincial voice in appointments to the Supreme Court and the Senate. So far, eight provinces and the federal government have endorsed the accord. The 10 to become law, the remaining provinces, New Brunswick and Manitoba, must endorse the accord before June, 1990.

But the accord is not an issue in the campaign. All three parties endorse it—although the Liberals and the NDP have proposed new ways to amend it after they passed. Deborah Coyne, an organizer with the Canadian Coalition on the Constitution, says that the accord changes the face of the nation. "We are going to end up with a balanced nation, with a federal government that has lost all effectiveness," she argues. "But there cannot be a debate as long as all three leaders support it."

### SUBMARINES

As the controversial centerpiece of a major defense agenda, the Conservatives have proposed purchasing 18 to 22 nuclear-powered submarines at a cost they estimate at \$18 billion. But some defense experts say that the estimate is too low. Two weeks ago, Richard Barnard, editor of the U.S. weekly *Defense News*, predicted that, if additional costs such as maintenance are included, the price could range from \$19 billion to \$24 billion. As well, members of peace groups and other critics have questioned the need for the submarines. Scott H. Thompson, president of the Ottawa-based Operation Dismal: "They will not prevent a nuclear war and they will not protect us if we should break out."

But that multibillion-dollar program has not surfaced in the campaign. The Conservatives simply avoid the issue—and have yet to decide on whether to choose *Borealis*, its French-built submarine. The Liberals, who estimate that the Conservative program would actually cost \$16 billion, say that they would spend about \$6 billion for a new fleet of diesel-powered submarines. The NDP also favors diesel-powered subs. Party spokesman said last week that Broad-

band would soon announce a price tag for these submarines—and for his overall defense policy.

Martin Sheehy, editor of the Canadian defense weekly *The Warhead Report*, said that Canada's trade of nuclear vessels to submarines is an unfavorable 7-1—the highest in NATO. As a result, with all three parties favoring the purchase of submarines, Canada faces a major change in defense policy and major defense expenditures, whatever party wins. Sheehy pointed out that the submarines would replace aging surface frigates used in surveillance warfare operations in the North

Atlantic and the North Pacific. "We are changing from surface ship technology to submarines but that has been missed in the campaign," he said. "The three parties seem to have a nonaggression pact."

The expense to apply to many issues in the current campaign. But it is abundantly clear that they have made no such pact on that trade, which, at the expense of virtually everything else, continues to dominate debate in the drive to the vote on May 31.

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## WORLD

# A RELIGIOUS POWER PLAY

**S**ince the birth of modern Israel 40 years ago, the Jewish state's religious parties have exercised an influence out of proportion to their numerical strength. From the outset, the country's unwieldy electoral system of proportional representation ensured that no secular party could form a government without the assistance of one or more of those parties. And there was always a price to pay—such as a subsidy for public transport. Secular Israelis had no objection to it. "The religious had wings the secular dog," said the results of last week's election, in which the religious parties won the balance of power in the 120-seat Knesset (parliament), again raised concerns about the extent of their involvement in government. Comparing Israel's religious rigidity to the syncretism of Iran, Shimon Aharan, leader of the military secular Gahal's Movement, declared that, with the election, Israel had been

## AN ELECTION LEFT ISRAEL'S RIGHT-WING LIKUD BLOC SEEKING A COALITION WITH ORTHODOX ZEALOTS

"Catastrophed back to the Middle Ages"

The corresponding position in which Israel's four religious parties had found themselves was due to their sharply increased vote and a doublet between the two main secular parties, the right-wing Likud bloc and the center-

Meaning: victims of a Israeli attack: perpetrators of more violence

left Labour Party. And, out consequence seemed certain to be heightened Middle East tensions. A Likud-led government embracing the religious bloc and the three ultra-orthodox secular parties would be too plagued to keep all the territory occupied by Israel since 1967—and take further measures to put down the 11-month-old intifada, or uprising, in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. In an interview with *Maclean's* correspondent Eric Stryker last Friday, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir refused to rule out such measures in desperation without the right of appeal and permission for soldiers to shoot on sight. Said Shamir: "We can consider everything if it could be useful."

Most observers agreed that the outcome of the election made chances of a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian problem seem remote then ever. "It means more violence and a continuation of the uprising," said Robert Neumann, director of the Middle East program at Washington, D.C.'s Centre for Strategic and International Studies. "There will be greater tension throughout the region and a greater threat of war."

Labour leader Shimon Peres, who had campaigned on a policy of exchanging territory for peace, won his electoral chances ruined by an Oct. 29 Palestinian force-back attack on a bus, which killed a young Jewish mother and her three children. After the vote, he had virtually no chance of achieving the religious parties to coalition under his leadership. "We don't have enough common ground," he said. "They are too extreme. We shall have to go into opposition, remaining true to our policies." And there were signs of a revolt within the party following Peres's fourth failure since 1977 to lead La-

bour to victory. "The party will have to undergo a radical reform," said Yitzhak Tzuri, a minister in the outgoing "government of national unity" in which Labour and Likud have run the country since the last electoral deadlock in 1984. But Tzuri himself has been pointed out that there was no obvious successor. Said Peres: "We have no other leader."

The Nov. 1 election gave Likud 36 seats. The three small secular parties joined as Labour's natural coalition partners gained another 50, leaving the centre-left bloc 13 seats short of a majority. Meanwhile, Likud won 39 seats, and its closest secular allies had seven, for a total of 46. That—partly because of an increase in the Orthodox population and a decrease among secular Israelis due to immigration—the religious parties increased their representation to 58 seats from 32. With their support, a Likud-led coalition would have a two-thirds majority.

But the religious parties' price for joining was likely to be high, and even some members of Likud's secular wingings. "Are we really going to have to live in the same government with all those rabbis?" said one *Maclean's* Likud activist. Added Neumann Netanyahu, Israel's former ambassador to the UN and a likely member of any right-wing cabinet: "They will make us pay a price. We could have done with a few more seats." One right-centrist lawmaker—former Likud Centre Committee member Moshe Arens—even posted at Shamir's office to protest his negotiations.



Shamir: adding West Bank settlements

with the religious alliance. "We are afraid of this black coalition," said Arens. "It's sinister."

As the religious leaders began negotiations with Likud last week, their list of demands included a ban on the production and sale of pork—which many secular Israelis eat—and the prohibition of Friday afternoon and Saturday-afternoon soccer. They were also demanding more money for Orthodox schools and institutions; greater powers for religious courts; and control of gay marriages.

Most troubling to Israel's Jewish supporters abroad was a demand that converts brought into the faith by Reform or Conservative rabbis should be denied automatic Israeli citizenship under the so-called Law of Return. The majority of Canadian and U.S. religious Jews belong to Reform or Conservative congregations, and Toronto Reform rabbi W. Gauder Plant, "they would resist and resist this very deeply for its symbolic effect."

In his *Maclean's* interview, Shamir insisted that he was "not inclined to accept" every demand of the religious bloc. "I don't think that the religious parties are going to impose anything on other parts of the population," he added. But on the question of delegitimizing non-Orthodox converts—even at the risk of alienating North American Jews—he seemed less flexible. "My position is that of Likud is to support this legislation," said Shamir.

At the same time, he promised to resist extremist demands by his likely secular partners—such as the annexation of the occupied territories and the expulsion of all Arabs from Israel and the territories. He said that he was committed to the 1978 Camp David agreement, under which the status of the occupied territories would be decided by negotiation after a period of limited autonomy. "I will not do anything opposite to the spirit and language of the Camp David agreement," said Shamir. He similarly rejected an expansion policy. "Of course we don't accept it," he said.

Still, it seemed certain that a Likud-led government would act more harshly than Labour's outgoing defence minister, Yitzhak Rabin, to put down the intifada, which has claimed at least 315 Palestinians and 10 Israeli Jews. A Likud government was also likely to move swiftly to establish new Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. In anticipation, hundreds of religious-nationalist settlers set out last Thursday to start 14 new settlements in the Gaza Strip.

Palestinians generally expressed dismay at the election outcome. "It was a clear endorsement of the parties that want Gush Katif," said Haim Sorens, editor of the *East Jerusalem Daily Al Aqsa*. "There will be an escalation of the conflict, perhaps even a war with Israel's Arab neighbors." PLO leader Yasser Arafat—who had previously agreed to write the Israeli government peace, an apparent reference to Peres—now downplayed the election. Said Arafat: "There is no difference between Peres and Shamir."

At week's end, some Israeli analysts said there was a remote chance that the deal-making of the religious and secular parties might prove too extreme for Likud and that despite their rivalry, the two main parties might be forced into some sort of uneasy partnership. But to make that possible, Peres would clearly have to shelve his plan for an international conference leading to an exchange of land for peace—and with it the UN Security Council's hope of a solution to the Palestinian problem.

JUDITH BERNHARD with ERIC Stryker in Jerusalem

## World Notes

### A COMPUTER VIRUS

A Pentagon computer network linking thousands of U.S. military, corporate and university computers was attacked by a disruptive software program known as a virus. The virus overloaded hundreds of machines by duplicating itself through the network. Computer security specialist Robert Morris Jr., 23, alerted the virus, which multiplied faster than planned because of a program error—and exposed the vulnerability of computer networks.

### AN ABORTED COUP

Foreign ministers of Indonesia and the Philippines declared a coup attempt against the government of the Maldives when India dispatched 1,500 paratroopers to the Indian Ocean island nation. Troops pursued the assassins, who took hostages and fled by boat.

### WILDLIFE IN COURT

Invited Manila pleaded not guilty to charges of fraud and racketeering in Federal Court in New York City. She and her husband, former Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos—who claimed that he was in ill health—were accused of looting \$124 million from the Philippines and defrauding U.S. banks of \$188 million. Invited Marcos was released after U.S. millionaire Donata Dore posted her \$6-million bail.

### A DARING ATTACK

Lebanese federal forces and El Shabab's national guard battled, killing four soldiers and wounding 30 others. The attack took place just hours after armed forces of staff Col. René Fauda Pisco and that he appeared during power with the army. He was wounded in a close-range shot against the government.

### SARKISAR'S NEW ROLE

President Saeed-ud-Din Ahmad Sarkisar will run for national office and April. A new election law will give more power to semi-recognized groups to elect members to a Congress of People's Deputies, which will in turn elect a parliament.

### SOUTH SUDANESE VIOLENCE

Nest 4,000 Sudanese clashed with 5,000 Sudanese militia in South who were attempting to capture former president Chao Doo-hwan, when they accused of human rights abuses.

### IMPASSE IN GENEVA

The peace talks in Geneva, Iran declared that it would not agree to a release of 200 prisoners of war unless Iran first withdrew its troops from Iraq territory captured during their eight-year war.

## The Reagan legacy

*Despite mistakes, his popularity endures*

[illegible]

Screaming assault on the gym floor below, Jan Triska, a 23-year-old who had just graduated from Ohio State University, missed a landing that has echoed through rallies—and public opinion polls—across the country: he said he wished that Reagan was once more on the year's ballot. "When he came up there, I had tears in my eyes," said Triska. "He embodies everything that America stands for." As

made into the White House in 1981 on promises to cut taxes, reduce inflation, restore the country's military might—and make Americans feel better about themselves. And he accomplished many of his goals. Eight years later, inflation has plummeted to 4.4 per cent from 13.5 per cent, while unemployment was 5.3 per cent last month compared with a high



*Reagan campaigning in Berlin: 'He embodies everything that America stands for'*

of 10.4 per cent in 1942.

To Meru's young people—members of a generation that has increased its national membership in the Republican party to a current 33 per cent from 20 per cent in 1980—those achievements are the main reason for rallying to the banner of the country's oldest president ever, who will celebrate his 75th birthday 17 days after leaving office next Jan. 20. Said David Brown, a 25-year-old bank executive: "My brother graduated from college at the end of the Carter administration and he was unemployed for three years. I graduated in the

But his record has also been mixed. In providing over the biggest peacetime defense buildup in the nation's history—and over a

71-month uninterrupted period of growth, the longest since the Second World War—Reagan implied the national deficit is less than five years, he turned the United States into the number 1 debtor nation, owing more than \$480 million, from the world's number 1 creditor, owed \$180 billion. And some economists predict a reduced standard of living for generations to come. Said Jack Fain, president of the liberal Economic Policy Institute: "Reagan told us to stand tall in the saddle. Then he stomped the horse."

Now, like the economic recovery, beer costs. During Reagan's two terms, the gap between rich and poor has widened, leaving a potentially unemployable underclass and more people in poverty—32.5 million in 1987 compared with 25.2 million in 1979. About 12 million of those classified as poor are children under age 6. While the richest 10 per cent of Americans

watched their income grow by 27.4 per cent over the past decade, the poorest 10 per cent saw their income drop by 30.5 per cent. And Reagan's virtual dismantling of the country's antitrust laws encouraged a wave of corporate takeovers that may have led, in part, to last year's insider-trading scandals on Wall Street.

In foreign affairs, Reagan used some of the most inflammatory anti-Soviet rhetoric of any postwar president, including his famous "Evil Empire" remarks. Then, in 1987, he concluded an intermediate-stage nuclear forces agreement that most analysts say will rank as his administration's crowning achievement. With an uncalculated amount of whimsical spontane-

ing, he realized the country's military muscle, then unleashed it on two tiny, seemingly unworthy targets. American forces avoided Gen-

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nels in 1983 and the government recently launched a terroristic guerrilla war against Nicaragua, which has a population of just 3.5 million. But those ventures may never be nations still haunted by Vietnam and the 1979 humiliation of losing its hostages held at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran by Muslim extremists. Said Reagan: "We made up the landscape of the world. Now we've got our confidence back."

In 1983, Reagan rose-pumped as an outsider who would get the government off the backs of the people, and in 1984—as president—he rejected that populist pledge. But, in fact, what he repeatedly referred to as "big government" has grown even bigger. The federal credit worldwide maintained between 1982 and 1987 by about 188,000, growing to more than three million. Still, invoking "starve right"—a notion used during the 1960s civil rights struggles to fight federally mandated integration—he unleashed an attack against minority civil rights gains. His justice department challenged, with little success, dozens of affirmative action decrees previously negotiated with city governments. And early this year, he vetoed the Civil Rights Restoration Act—a veto that Congress later overrode.

Many critics charged that his administration created a new climate in which racism became respectable. Mr. Justice Thurgood Marshall, the only black on the Supreme Court, last year broke the traditional idiom of his office to claim that Reagan misled at "the bottom" among presidents on the subject of racial justice. And after appointing nearly half of all federal judges, he has given the country's justice system a more conservative, non-interventionist character—perhaps his most enduring influence.

Even Reagan's unrepentant personal agenda contains an enigma. A deluge of books by former aides have painted devastating portraits of his behavior, accusations to detail and lack of intellectual grasp of even some of his own policies. In the most damning account, *For the Record*, former chief of staff Donald Regan portrays him as a passive, cutthroat figure, still an actor playing the role of president. White House. "He expected his daily schedule as being something like a shooting script in which characters came and went, scenes were rehearsed and acted out, and the plot was advanced one day at a time, and not always in sequence." He still believed that the only way to secure his attention was to play on his emotions. According to Regan, when former CIA director William Casey wanted his agreement to sell arms to Iran in return for release of U.S. hostages held in Lebanon,



Bush with grandchildren in Louisville, Ky., in Reagan's shadow

Casey showed the president a harrowing film—acted by the kidnappers—of hostage William Buckley, a CIA agent, being tortured. Reagan's emotional response led directly to the Iran-contra scandal that shook his presidency.

But even the proof that Reagan had led to the nation's softening arms to Iran, which won't his personal approval rating down by 21 points, failed to permanently repair his popularity. His standing has now returned to its recent high of 66 per cent. It remained unaffected by Reagan's reelection last May that the administration depended on the meetings of San Francisco attorney Juan Gonzalez in deciding the timing of key events. War was Reagan's agenda—disrupted by the release in September of a videotape from a secret 1984 Republican campaign meeting in which his strategists joke repeatedly about the "old man's" ineptitude. In fact, the tape reveals that Reagan might have prosecuted action against Iran four years ago. But speech writer Kenneth Knausigan reminded his colleagues that, in 1983, Reagan blamed acid rain on emissions from Iran. Said Knausigan: "If you get the old man going on it, he does 'later' later."

Reagan still talks during an audience with the Pope, made a speech in Brazil thanking the "people of Bolivia," and once failed to recognize the only black member of his cabinet, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Samuel R. Harris, greeting him as "Mr. May." He has taken so many liberties with facts, including turning his own wartime

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start doing worse—scores for Hollywood training filmstars "four years in exile," that they are elevated in a book called *Reagan's Reign of Error* (but filled by a would-be assassin's bullet in his first year in office, then a deal with wage slavery for Soviet cancer three years ago, he showed exceptional courage and an undevoted ability to reassure the nation). "No matter what Reagan did, you couldn't help but like him," said Nina Stemann, a Los Angeles actress-husband. "He seemed as harmless—sort of like that big golden retriever."

Reagan's charisma remains so firmly intact that Bush's managers had to combat what they call the "astore gap" largely by keeping him away from Reagan. And on his final swing through the West last week, Reagan cemented many observers of just how much the style, themes and language of this year's campaign bear his influence. His talent for television rallies, devised by media handlers such as then-deputy chief of staff Michael Deaver, served as the model for the current White House race. And Reagan's presidency perfected the techniques of media manipulation that conservative critic Mark Huttergard blames for the current ineptitude and lack of substantive debate on issues.

As Huttergard points out in a new book, *On Reagan: How The Press and the Reagan Presidency Deceived America*, Deaver controlled the media by helping reporters do their job. He gave them a constant flow of visually engaging events that television reporters could not refuse, but that distracted them from pursuing critical story lines. Said Huttergard: "It was manipulation by amnesia." Other analysts note that, after eight years of appearing as actor as president, the public now judges candidates on their ability to read conservative speeches from *Time*/*Newsweek* and their likelihood. Said James David Barber, author of *Presidential Character*: "We've become a nation of drama critics."

But Reagan has also changed the nature of the national debate. The optimism and patriotism of both Bush's and Dukakis's rhetoric were petrified on Reagan's own market-tested formula. Even Dukakis's reluctance to embrace the "liberal" label that Reagan turned into an explicit demerit—how the president has shifted the political center of both parties to the right. Now it is even for Democrats to talk of increasing social spending programs—is part because Reagan's rhetoric has made that impossible. In fact, in his 1984 book, *Triumph of Politics: Why the Reagan Revolution Failed*, former budget director David Stockman claimed that the secret agenda of Reagan's supply-side economics was "to have a strategic deficit that would give you an argument for cutting back the programs that weren't desired."

But despite Reagan's so-called revolution, he failed to bring a political revolution that would give Republicans control of Congress. He did, however, build a new political coalition of the affluent and the middle class—who most benefited from his tax cuts—and the religious

right whose values he championed, at least in speeches. That coalition has solidified the party's base in the Rocky Mountain states and the South and has cemented the Republicans of an Electoral College base likely to give them a victory in presidential elections for years to come. At the same time, Reagan's attacks on organized labor—beginning with his 1981 firing of 11,345 striking federal air-traffic controllers—has helped push union membership down to 17.3 per cent of the workforce in 1986 from 23.8 per cent in 1960. And that has eroded the Democratic party's traditional working-class base.

As Reagan prepares to ride off into the sunset, leveled for the 33-million Los Angeles residents' estate bought for him by wealthy California supporters known as the *Reagan Club*, he says that he will not allow his chair to be taken from the limelight. Declared the President: "There's a bunch I'd be right back there on the mashed potato receipt, making my views known." The Great Communicator may be leaving the White House, but it remains clear that his presence will long linger on the national stage.

MARCI McDONALD in Washington

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## POLAND

## Thatcher's acclaim

*The prime minister meets the Polish workers*

For British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the situation was really less a war weary nations holding claims to protect a governmental decision to close a money-losing enterprise. But the workers were not British, they were Polish. And the enterprise was not an obsolete factory in northern England, but the giant Lenin shipyard in Gdansk—the birthplace of the Solidarity movement, Solidarity, which was banned in 1982. And as Britain's Iron Lady began her first state visit to Poland last week, she found herself on foreign ground taking the side of workers against the government. At a banquet hosted by Polish Communist leader Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, Thatcher said economic prosperity could only be achieved if people are given "freedom of expression, freedom of association, the right to free love and independent trade unions."

Even before she began her three-day visit, the battle over the Lenin shipyard had consumed Poland's already tense government-labor relations into a full-blown crisis. The trouble began on Dec. 31 after the official news agency issued a three-sentence statement: "The [Lenin] shipyard will formally stop working on Dec. 31, 1988 and from that date, a gradual process of liquidation will start."

Prime Minister Marcin Wlodek said that the decision was purely "economic," adding that more closures of unprofitable ventures would follow. But Solidarity founder Lech Walesa charged that the shut-down was a "political provocation" intended to thwart Poland's round-table discussions on economic and political reform with the outlawed union.

In a surprise announcement of his own, Walesa declared that the yard's management had the official CPSU union—which replaced Solidarity in 1982—asked to help fight the closing. "There are many people in Poland," said Walesa, an electrician at the shipyard, "but this is the biggest one, and nobody can let them take this step away from us."

The Lenin shipyard—named after Vladimir Lenin, founder of the Soviet state—has been a symbol of opposition to Poland's Communist authorities for nearly two decades. In December 1970, the army's killing of as many as 300 people during nationwide strikes—including 28 outside the Lenin yard—led to the downfall of Commu-

nist leader Wladyslaw Gomułka. A strike at the yard in August, 1980, led to the birth of Solidarity and to the fall of Edward Giermek's government. Last summer, the shipyard was again on the front line of nationwide labor action. In September, Jaruzelski replaced Zbigniew Messner to prime minister and pledged to hold talks on Poland's future with leaders of Solidarity, the focus



Thatcher with advisers in Warsaw advocating workers' rights and democratic reforms.

nist church, the CPSU union and political opposition groups.

But those talks—already delayed for more than two weeks—appeared unlikely to proceed last week. While Jaruzelski represented his commitment to the discussions, his unilateral decision to close the Lenin shipyard provoked little hope that negotiations will begin soon. "The round table has lost its meaning," said Walesa. "They pretend to talk, while at the same time, they liquidate the shipyard."

The controversy over the decision was more about method than substance. Worldwide the shipbuilding industry is in decline. And few news agencies said that the Lenin shipyard built only one ship last year compared with 24 in 1970. Its workforce has dwindled to 11,908 from 38,000 in the mid-1970s. And last year, the yard lost \$5.6 million while

receiving state subsidies of \$22.3 million. But losses alone do not explain why the Lenin shipyard was chosen to be the first casualty of economic restructuring. Recently, Warsaw officials said that they had a list of 150 unprofitable state enterprises. And published statistics show that the Lenin shipyard was the only shipyard in Poland that nearly five times the losses of the Lenin yard in 1987 while pocketing more than double the amount of subsidies.

Both the government and Solidarity tried to use Thatcher's visit to their advantage. Polish news media attempted to draw parallels between the way she subdued the power of the unions and reduced state subsidies to industry in Britain and Jaruzelski's decision to close the shipyard. Walesa, meanwhile, expressed his admiration for the British leader's hard-line approach to communism while downplaying her recent economic policies. "I, Lech Walesa,

and the whole of Polish society respect Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, even love her," he said. "But the Mrs. Thatcher of foreign policy, not for the domestic affairs of Britain."

In the end, it was Solidarity that won the public relations battle. In Warsaw, Thatcher told Polish leaders that as Marxist centrally planned economy could ever succeed, and she responded coolly to their appeal for help in easing Poland's \$42-billion foreign debt. And in Gdansk on Friday, Thatcher joined Walesa outside the gates of the Lenin shipyard to lay a wreath at a monument to the strikers killed by security in 1970. In a land of symbols, few points failed to grasp the significance of that scene—but politically charged—gesture.

ANDREW BILSKY with BOGDAN TURKOW in Gdansk

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# AIR CANADA FLIES LOW

THE AIRLINE'S  
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DISAPPOINTED  
THOUSANDS OF  
HOPEFUL BUYERS

When the federal government announced its 45-per-cent sell-off of Air Canada last August, the nationwide "dollar" advertising campaign promoting the sale came under sharp attack. Former Ontario Securities Commission chairman Henry Knowles, for one, said that the bids "crossed the line between acceptable and unacceptable marketing techniques." And while federal reports were out about the stock, strong uncertainty in the airline industry hit, entered by the extremely period alone, thousands of Canadian investors decided to buy. The sale generated \$235.8 million for the airline—but shareholders have been less lucky. Originally priced at \$18, the stock rose briefly to over \$19 when trading between stockholders began in early October. Since its stock exchange listing in mid-October, it has fallen, closing last week at \$17.56. Now, investors are anxiously awaiting Air Canada's third-quarter results this week. If they differ significantly from the company's optimistic projections, the price could drop even further.

Some observers have placed blame for the stock's disappointing performance on the uncertainty surrounding the Nov. 22 federal election. If the Conservative government of Brian Mulroney fails to win a majority or is not re-elected, the fate of the government's remaining 55-per-cent holding will be unclear. That prospect unsettles some investors who say that they are wary of government intervention in the company's affairs.

Before the stock went, some investors said they anticipated that the price would be based on a low level to promote its quick appreciation. A similar strategy benefited the sale of the British Columbia government of Margaret Thatcher after the privatization of such British Crown corporations as British Gas Corp. Six months after their issue, British Gas shares had doubled in value, to \$2.18. But Air Canada has so far been unable to emulate that success. As well, the investment dealers who underwrote the issue kept the price from falling even further by purchasing shares that were resold quickly by speculators.

Market analysts say that that practice is normal and provides prior stability for investors. One portfolio manager, who requested that his name not be used, said that as one would acknowledge a specific request by the government to prop up the share price. But he added that the Air Canada underwriters are "probably feeling a lot of pressure to support the price because the government is the largest source of securities in the country," providing dealers with much of their business.

Looking at Air Canada's intense new competition



But most analysts say that intense competition in the airline industry is the primary reason for the depressed share price. According to Frederick Egan, analyst for broker Alford Dowling & Co. Ltd. in Toronto, industry deregulation means more competition among airlines. That is forcing disarray Canadian airlines to increase service and cut prices.

Lyle Lockie, senior financial adviser here, said that the airline industry has opened the stock. Gary Cullen, senior vice-president at Toronto-based Jones Howland Investment Management Inc., said that Air Canada was "not worth buying in the first place." Cullen pointed to Air Canada's plans to spend \$2.4 billion for new capital purchases in the next five years, including 340 French-built Airbus A-320 aircraft and the remaining payments for seven Boeing 747s. That kind of cash "sucked the funds off of us," Cullen said. He also dismissed the launch advertising campaign as "hope."

In addition, events in the industry have depressed the stock of most major Canadian airlines. Reaction has been moving strongly into lucrative business-travel market, with more regularly scheduled



Loading cars onto an Air Canada DC-10 for instability

flights. Whether it was offering 37 percent discounts on Model 747 one-way tickets. At the same time, it is spending \$1 billion on new planes and is not expected to earn a profit this year.

Competitors Canadian Airlines International Ltd. and Air Canada are fighting to keep up last week, Air Canada increased the number of home points for frequent flyers so that they now earn one mile for every mile flown. But Donald Reid, president of Toronto-based flight adviser Reed Monahan Nechols Inc., said that high sales do not automatically mean high profits. Discounted seats and frequent-flyer programs, which reward customers with free tickets, mean lower revenues for each seat. Meanwhile, Canadian's parent, PMA Corp. of Calgary, reported poor third-quarter earnings at the end of October, creating a ripple effect in the industry. When such negative results are reported, said Reid, "very often you will see stocks fall in the same industry."

Still, many individual investors were persuaded that the shares were an attractive purchase. The sale was a relief, as unusual even for new issues since the stock market collapse on Oct. 19, 1987. Although precise figures have not been released, most observers estimate that the supply of buying was vast by itself, so-called retail investors, while many large institutions, including pension funds,

have remained on the sidelines, waiting to assess the stock's performance.

Larry Lowe, chairman of Vancouver-based pension fund adviser Connor, Clark & Lowe Investment Management Ltd., said that because of intense short-seller or stock market crash, and the stock's poor showing so far, subsequent purchasers who might have helped to support the price are likely to stay away, at least until after the federal election or until there are signs of improvement in the overall industry. As a result, the shares are expected to stay below the issue price of \$18. And that could mean unhappy investors, who could become unhappy voters. Investment dealer Morris Aronson, of New York Securities Capital Inc., said that as Air Canada shares have dropped in recent weeks, "there are people who will think they have been taken by the government."

Investor caution is also rooted in concerns that a Liberal government may take an interventionist stance with Air Canada. The Conservative government has stated

that it would vote 45 per cent in favor of a new transportation bill, which would increase the transportation crisis. Brian Tobin, lead Minister's list, said that a Liberal government would probably not change the present ownership structure, but that it would ensure Air Canada was responsible to the transportation needs of the country—as well as to its shareholders.

Meanwhile, the airline industry is caught in a bewildering cross fire between market forces and political instability. Pension fund manager Robert Kennedy, chairman of Toronto-based Tremor Investment Management Inc., said that the airline price reflects the industry's "factors." "They may have had politics in mind, but the company had to lose a lot of money." On the other hand, he said, Kennedy, people bought because "the shares were listed in something cheap that were going to go up."

Despite the disappointing losses, all investors have an eye on the federal government. Still, Thomas W. Davis, a spokesman for Donald Munro, Ontario, deputy prime minister and privatization minister, "Most people are sophisticated enough to realize that the price can go down." For thousands of optimistic Canadian investors, that is an unpleasant reality they have already learned to face.

PATRICK CRISWOLD and JUDY DALY

## Business Notes

### DICKEN CLEANUP

Work after federal government researchers announced that they had found traces of dioxin in Ontario milk picked up in cardboard containers, representatives of the Canadian pulp-and-paper industry said that producers will spend up to \$500 million over the next two years to eliminate sources of dioxin in their products.

### MORRIS SWALLOWS KRAPI

The U.S. merger boom continued as food conglomerate Kraft Inc. agreed to a \$15.7-billion buy-out by cigarette manufacturer Philip Morris Inc. The value of securities and acquisitions in the United States in the first nine months of this year reached a record \$237 billion.

### MAXWELL TAKES MACGILLIAN

After months of raising, Macmillan Inc. of New York City has agreed to accept British publisher Robert Maxwell's £5-million offer for the giant publishing and information firm.

### HOUSE-PRICE FORECAST

Canadian house prices will rise by an average of 1.5% in a nationwide average of \$135,300, according to a survey released by realtor Royal LePage Ltd.

### PRAIRIE DOWNFALL

The Conference Board of Canada predicts that economic growth in the Prairies will drop to 1.5% in 1990, the lowest rate of falling oil prices and the effects of this year's drought on grain crops.

### SKYSCRAPER FOR SALE

Seize Portland and Co. announced that it will sell its 131-story Citicorp building in New York City. The world's tallest building is part of a major corporate restructuring. The sale is expected to yield up to \$2.96 billion for the giant retailer.

### SOVIET FINISH POLLS

Several economic planners said that they hope to avoid major increases in consumer prices next year despite the fact that the government is trying to reduce a \$67-billion budget deficit. The Soviet government also wants to avoid contractions over increased prices.

### CAMPBELL KEEPS INVESTING

In an effort to attract investors, Potlatch Department Stores Inc. has increased the interest rate on a \$600-million bond offering to 11.75 per cent from 14 per cent. The move is expected to help finance Potlatch's estate upgrade. Robert Campbell's \$1.35-billion takeover of Potlatch last May.

# A gusher of black gold

*Hunter makes a milestone B.C. oil find*

**I**t was an impressive sight—and a spectacular reminder that things still can pay off in the Canadian oil industry. On Monday, Oct. 31, as British Columbia Premier William Vander Zanden and his wife Lillian watched, James Gray, the stocky vice president of Canadian Hunter Exploration Ltd., ignited a thundering gas well near Dawson Creek, B.C., sending a flame 580 feet into the gray afternoon sky. The fire was a fitting way for Calgary-based Hunter and partner Air Americas Inc. to celebrate the discovery of one of the biggest oil and gas fields in recent Canadian history. And it also provided a flicker of hope for Canada's beleaguered oil and gas sector, which has been battling falling crude prices for almost two years.

Last week's announcement was a dramatic payoff for the joint venture between Canadian Hunter and Air, which has spent \$100 million since 1985 developing oil and gas prospects and acquiring land near Dawson Creek, in the province's northern Prairie Provinces. The Brumby oilfield, which geologists say holds more than 30 million barrels of oil, will dramatically increase Hunter's production and it could act as a stepping stone for Hunter and Air to develop further oilfields in the surrounding area. The discovery is also important to British Columbia, which has large natural-gas reserves but, until now, little oil. And Hunter's strike is also a promising development for officials at other Canadian exploration companies, some of whom had concluded that all of Western Canada's big conventional oil and gas fields had already been found. Said Wilfred Gohbert, an oil analyst with the Calgary-based brokerage firm Peters and Co. Ltd.: "Exploration companies can hold up Brumby as an example of the type of discoveries that are still out there."

Hunter, which is 87 per cent owned by Toronto-based resource giant Noranda Inc., has made other big strikes in the past. In 1976, it was responsible for discovering one of the largest natural-gas fields in Canadian history

—the Ebaneth field in northwestern Alberta. Since 1985, Hunter's geologists have been trying to prove that the formation containing the Ebaneth field also extended into British Columbia. And in mid-1987, there were indications that there was more than just natural gas



Hunter's Gray (left) and Vander Zanden in office of hope

in the area, where a Hunter rig drilling 48 km southeast of Dawson Creek exploded into a ball of flame. Since then, Hunter has hit oil in nine out of 33 wells that it has drilled on the Brumby field.

Brumby is dwarfed by the Hibernia oilfield, 380 miles southeast of Newfoundland and Gulf Canada Corp.'s Athabasca reservoir in the Redoubt Sea, both of which are estimated to contain 506 million barrels. But fields as big as Brumby have been rare in the oil industry during the 1980s in Western Canada. At the same time, the field's unusually high production rates—tests indicated it is capable of

producing between 6,000 and 7,000 barrels a day—have raised the prospect of other high-quality reservoirs being found in the area. Said John Munroe, Hunter's president: "Brumby is a once-in-a-lifetime find. But its true significance is that it may lead to new fields in the area."

Given the sharp decline in world oil prices—\$16.98 a barrel now from \$23.90 a year ago—has not dampened the enthusiasm of Hunter or its Cleveland-based partner. Although the Brumby field is 30,000 feet belowground—making production relatively expensive—the oil is light and clean, and, as a result, by late next year the field may be exporting peak production in June 1990, each barrel of oil should qualify for the best price available. Said B.C. Energy Minister Jack Davis: "It is of interest by nature—it is the best."

The B.C. treasury will also benefit from the find. As an incentive, British Columbia will forgo all petroleum royalties for two years after production begins from the field. After that, the province will get 20 per cent of the sale price of each barrel of crude, which works out to \$8.37 per barrel of oil at current prices. Said John Allan, British Columbia's assistant deputy minister of energy: "British Columbia now imports three-quarters of all its oil. The Brumby field means a lot more money will be staying in the province."

Hunter and Air have also announced the start-up of their new \$26 million natural-gas processing plant 59 km south of Dawson Creek. The No. 1 gas operation, which will have the capacity to process 150 million cubic feet of gas per day, will strengthen the province's campaign for a larger share of the rich U.S. gas market as well as the recently deregulated eastern Canadian market.

Still, the outlook for the Canadian oil industry is not promising. Although the federal government recently announced that it would spend billions financing new energy megaprojects, including offshore and heavy-oil projects in Alberta, a chronic shortfall of capital in the industry has left some of conventional western oil exploration prospects unattended. A spokesman for the Calgary-based Canadian Association of Oilwell Drilling Contractors said that at the end of October, there were 142 rigs drilling in Western Canada, compared to 362 rigs during the same period last year. Meanwhile, some industry analysts are predicting that oil prices could fall below \$12 per barrel, and that would cause a further slowdown in the oil industry. But discoveries such as Brumby at least allow oilmen to dream that better days lie ahead.

JOHN BISHOP with JOHN MURPHY in Dawson Creek





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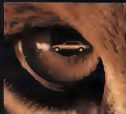
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INTRODUCING A SEDAN WITH THE HEART OF A LION

## JANUARY 5, 1967 14 1955 2

## Making history

The new Miss Canada says that she wants all Canadians to take note of who she is. Last week, **Juliette Powell**, 18, a midget, became the first midget contestant to win the beauty pageant in its 43-year history. The Montreal-area college-commerce student and part-time fashion



Powell: an ugly duckling with glasses

model was born in New York City but grew up in Ville d'Acres, an eastern Montreal suburb. "I was an ugly duckling," revealed the 5-foot-5 senior of more than \$118,000 in prizes and scholarships. "I towered over everyone and wore these terrible thick glasses!" Still, add Powell, who entered the 46-credit Miss Canada competition in Miss Laurentians. "If you believe in yourself, it doesn't matter about color or anything else, you'll be a winner."

## True love of a fisherman

What began as *Anonymous* writer Edith Iglewicz's attempt to explain the joys of fishing turned into an account of a great Canadian love story. Iglewicz says that she started to write an article about life with the eccentric, mystic-

cal, B.C. salmon fisherman **John Daly**—whom she married in 1996—partly to tell people why she left Manhattan, where she worked as a writer for *The New Yorker*, and moved to the remote fishing village of Garden Bay on Pender Harbour, 75 km northwest of Vancouver. Her

Iglewicz, romance is writing



Edith Iglewicz

## African mission

For Canadian folk singer **Deane Cockburn**, fulfilling his dream to visit Africa was an experience filled with sadness. Cockburn, 42, says that he was outraged by the poverty and civil strife that he witnessed during a recent 25-day trip to Mozambique sponsored by the aid organization Co-operation Canada Mozambique. Says Cockburn, now on a speaking tour for the organization, "The trip would have been fantastic if not for the country's tragic situation."

Cockburn: a dream filled with sadness

## TALES OF THE UNEXPECTED

From the murky Atlantic Ocean to the mystical West, Canada is haunted by the supernatural, according to Toronto author **John Robert Colombo**, 52, who since 1967 has been collecting reports of sea monsters, UFOs and other inexplicable phenomena for his semi-illustrated book, *Mysterious Canada*. Colombo says that there are many more tales from Canada's northward than the 300 included in his book. "There could be a book of ghost stories," he adds, "for every community in the country."

## Penny-wise

Wisconsin Democrat **William Proxmire**, known on Capitol Hill as Senator Sprocket, is not on the American ballot this week. Considered a tightwad by his Senate peers for opposing wasteful spending bills, Proxmire, 72, is content to write about waste. He made wasteful government spending a national joke when he set up his monthly Golden Fleece Awards in March, 1975. One controversial award went to a more-than-\$500,000 study on how liquor affects fish. True to form, not after 31 years of attempting to save the nation's signposts, Proxmire says, "I am a man of no wealth whatsoever."



Proxmire: studying liquor and fish

work evolved into a recently published book, *Fishing with John*, which chronicles the couple's 40-year rigorous life aboard a 41-foot trailer until Daly's death from a heart attack in 1978 at 65. Iglewicz says that their romance unintentionally slipped into her writing. "I guess I loved John so much that it just came through."



WHEN ONLY THE FINEST WILL DO

# PRINCE CHARLES COMES OF AGE

**CHARLES AT 40 IS HIS OWN MAN WITH NEW CONFIDENCE—AND RESPECT**

**F**rom the moment of his birth, Prince Charles has set precedents. He was the first direct heir to the throne of Britain, Canada, and other Commonwealth countries to be born with the presence of a senior cabinet minister to verify the identity of the royal baby (the tradition stemmed from 17th-century suspicions that a male heir supposedly born to James II's wife, Queen Mary, was not her child). Charles was also the first heir to go to school outside the royal household, the first to earn a university degree, the first to paint a jet—and the first to modern tastes to choose his bride from outside the narrow circle of European royalty. Late last month, the prince added another first to the long list: he became the first royal to host an open major television program. That, it itself would draw attention, but Charles aroused even greater interest by using the opportunity to wade directly into controversy. As millions of Britons watched, the prince took them on a 15-minute televised tour of some of their country's ugliest cities—and launched a scathing attack on the property developers and architects who have inflicted what he called "terrible damage" on them.

For Charles, it was the latest salvo in a campaign that he has waged for more than four years against the despoiling of British cities. But it was by far his most effective attack, combining persuasive arguments with shrewd presentation. And coming just 27 days before he celebrates his 40th birthday on Nov. 14, it

won the prince high praise and furnished his image as a thoughtful critic of modern British society.

After spending much of his 38th wedding with a deep sense of personal inadequacy, being pilloried for his ultra-conservative attitudes, and suffering publicly as a sometimes troubled marriage, Charles at 40 seems to have emerged with new confidence—and new public respect. "He has spent the last seven years since he got married carrying his head out," said Robert Hirston, editor of the British magazine *Spectator*. "Now, Charles has become his own man."

For the prince, that has not come easily. Just one year ago, his personal life was under unprecedented scrutiny—and he was treated with open contempt by Britain's powerful popular press. Charles was portrayed as a wingnut bore, wearing crustily to his aristocratic duties, enthusing his engine problems and Jaguar philosophy and boasts of hard-won golf pay over his lack of a clearly defined public role. His wife, Diana, Princess of Wales, was widely regarded as an empty-headed fashion plate, and their marriage was said to be as the verge of breaking down. The royal favorite then was Sarah Ferguson, the Duchess of York, just back from a tour of Canada with her husband, Prince Andrew, the Duke of York.

A year later, the tables have turned. The wounding saga of the world's most celebrated family in the British media's heated continuing story—and it seems to be more a constant rumormongering of heroes and villains. While Charles and Diana now bask in the glow of positive publicity, the voracious royal-watchers of the tabloid press have turned their guns on Prince Andrew, they gleefully pounced in September when she left her six-week visit to America, Bermuda, London to accompany Prince Andrew on a six-week tour of Australia. "Disappointed the *Daily Express* 'So he's a national disgrace, Porpo'."

In stark contrast, the Princess of Wales has become more poised and, apparently, more self-assured. Blessed with deep good looks, Diana has been the unquestioned star of the royal show since she became engaged to Charles in 1981. But the apparent estrangement

between the reigning prince and her introspective princess, nearly 15 years his senior, cast a shadow over the couple for much of the past several years. Now, most royal-watchers agree, Diana has stopped rebelling against the restrictions of royal life and has thrown herself into her duties with enthusiasm.

But the new respect for Prince Charles is largely a result of his own efforts. A decade ago, with his education and naval service behind him, the prince took up a wide variety of interests. Many reflected a religious, almost spiritual, strain in his personality that is far removed from the no-nonsense image projected by other royals—especially his father, Prince Philip. But the cause that he took up as a personal crusade was the fate of Britain's cities, ravaged after the Second World War by developments that he considered ugly and insensitive.

In half a dozen speeches since 1984, the prince emerged as Britain's most outspoken critic of modern architecture and town planning, calling for developments better suited to the country's heritage of classical buildings. His attacks enraged many architects, who portrayed him as the mouthpiece of a handful of die-hard conservatives and community activists. But in his televised broadcast against ugly urban development, Charles scored a major victory over his critics in language that was intelligently blunt for a member of the normally circumspect Royal Family. "When did we lose our sense of vision?" he asked. "How could there be control become so out of step?"

Reaction from the press and the public was immediate—and overwhelmingly positive. And the documentary also reinforced Charles as an incisive critic of the kind of uncontrolled free-market society that many feel Britain has become in the 1980s under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. By constitutional convention, British royals may not criticize government policies, but many observers interpret Charles's plea to leave the drive for profits such concerns for heritage as an implied dig at Thatcher's policies. After his program was

broadcast, a left-wing Labour member of Parliament, Ronald Brown, invited the prince to join his party, saying that Charles was "plainly more left wing than some of the people already in the party." In fact, the prince's political views are closer to traditional, yet-Thatcher Conservative values.

In every way, however, Charles has broken with tradition. And the way he plans to mark his 40th birthday is no exception. Aside from his regular public appearances, he is actively involved in about half a dozen organizations under the umbrella of the Prince's Trust that

raise money to help young people in Britain's inner cities. He will underline those concerns on Nov. 14, when he is scheduled to attend a birthday party with 1,500 young people in an old structure shed in a rundown part of the central England city of Birmingham that has been renovated with money from the trust.

Throughout his adult life, Charles has searched for a fulfilling role while meeting his royal duties to the throne. By the time she turned 40—in April, 1986—his mother had been Queen for 18 years. But with the Queen showing no signs of aging of her job at

82, Charles faces the likelihood of many more years in the undelaid job of Prince of Wales. For years, he agonized both privately and publicly about what that role should be. Now, as he enters his fifth decade, he appears to have got that behind him. Said Prince James, author of the 1983 biography *Charles*: "Finally he is beginning to get what he wants, which is to be taken seriously." For a man whose behavior has been so tightly bound by unwritten rules, that is itself a significant achievement.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London



AP/WIDE WORLD

# CHARLES III—IN WAITING

## THE PRINCE IS TAKING RISKS

*The subject of thousands of articles and dozens of books, Prince Charles is one of the world's most closely watched celebrities—but perhaps one of the least understood. Among those who have chronicled the fortunes of the Prince of Wales, British author Anthony Browne is considered the most perceptive and astute in his contacts at Buckingham Palace—the most author visible. His latest book, Charles, will be published on Nov. 14 to coincide with the prince's 40th birthday. An excerpt.*

In the early hours of June 12, 1957, after Margaret Thatcher was her third successive term in prime minister in the British general election, her first thought was of winning a fourth. She was doing by her party's

electoral losses in the most deprived urban areas of Britain and, for all the euphoria of a victory unprecedented in this century, her first public act that night was to make the plight of Britain's inner cities the most urgent priority of her new government. When she gave this emotional pledge to party workers from the staircase of the Conservative party's central office in London even as the notes were still being counted, the prime minister's words could be taken to represent a remarkable political victory for, among others, the Prince of Wales.

For 10 years, Prince Charles had made it his business to travel to areas of the greatest deprivation in the United Kingdom, to talk to those whose lives could not be a starker contrast to his own, and to offer comfort and assistance. He was not only anxious to draw attention to the plight of the unemployed and the homeless, of racial and religious minorities, at young people otherwise bereft of hope for the future. He was also keen to demonstrate his personal support. Why so often seemed to be beset by Britain's local or central governments.

Through the Prince's Trust—a fund launched with his own money—Charles has been administering grants to youth projects throughout the land, followed up by personal after-visit visits to see for himself that the money was being put to good use. Ten years later, he was steadily advancing into much more ambitious terrain.

The prince's first full decade in public life had seen conditions in Britain's inner cities grow steadily worse. As the Thatcher government's hard-line monetarist policies raised unemployment to record levels, being deeper into the lives of those on or below the poverty line, he was persecuted by the nature of Britain's centralised monarchy from viewing any overtly political protest. For he was scathingly

sworn, as much from the example of some recent predecessors as from his own close study of British history, that he was in a unique position to appeal to the consciences of politicians. The heir to the throne may have no political power, but he has considerable influence.

He can speak, in short, for the people, though he must do so on the most conservative style, avoiding the slightest hint of involvement in party politics. But Charles is as uniquely well informed and he is uniquely responsive platforms. As last opponent the Prince of Wales was controversial subject papers and he is well informed about day-to-day political issues. As a privy councillor—an adviser to Queen Elizabeth—he can air his views confidentially to senior politicians of the day. But he can never make any public statement, even on supposedly nonpolitical issues of political life. For a man who cares passionately about the status over which he will not say almost certainly right—and who, through his constant travels around Britain, is in much closer touch with its problems than most government ministers—the attention placed upon him can prove very frustrating.

At times, perhaps too often, Charles is capable of letting his frustration show. A recent link from a private luncheon, at which he was planned to a group of newspaper editors of his labored struggle against royal protocol, resulted in a row over payment for 18 years ago from a dinner held in his honor by cabinet ministers in the Labour Party government of then-Prime Minister James Callaghan. Not long before, Charles told Binn, a hostess on an Australian Airlines service jet had the nerve to come over and say to him, "What a rotten, boring job you're paid!" The government ministers laughed sympathetically. "But you don't understand," said the prince urgently. "She was right!"

Unlike his predecessors that night, Charles has not sought public office, even public permission, let alone election to a position of power and influence. It has been thrust upon him by the accident of his birth and made such pain by the failure of the British Constitution to define a public role for the Prince of Wales. The constitution's unwritten rules are elegant on what he must not do—be silent as to what he should.

For many of Charles's predecessors, this proved a lesson for princely distance and

strains of his private and public lives seems to be converging in this one central mission. After years of careful study, he has developed a coherent world view which is a means to get to practical use. In the decline of the quality of life for many millions he has found a public purpose to his own. With some risk the prince has assumed his political significance and set forth on the unknown.

If he courts controversy, refuses compromise, ignores social niceties or ignores professional hostility, so be it. "I like to stir

things up," Charles has said, "to throw a general royal back through the window glass of pompous professional grade and lay bare the kind of aspects of our life which sleep this country from one end to the other."

Charles is a man of high aspirations. Since his days as a Cambridge University undergraduate, he has had a powerful ambition to make his mark. It is a sense of loss, when, when his sense of his position makes sense of his human relationships, to say even that he has developed ideas above his station. Hear to the

desire since the age of 3, when his mother considered the throne, he was brought up by his parents to feel a deep sense of duty. To Charles, his birthright is not a sacred trust of which to make what he will. The word example of a Prince of Wales who inherited that trust—his great-uncle David, Lordly King Edward VII before him—has been his father's. His son, the woman he loved, in 1956—has concentrated his mind on money. He will go down in history, he is determined as a Prince of Wales who need his office to enhance the common good.

Everything else in his life is now subordinate to that goal. At times, when he is misunderstood or his actions are misinterpreted, he can grow angry and dejected, even show his mere humanity with thoughts of "taking it all." But those moments quickly pass. His private life is his wife and children, his offstage enthusiasm from music to sports of all the second place to his public attention. Only in the last few years has Charles fully defined the focus both for his personal philosophy and for his public role. Now that he has, he is putting his confidence behind him and pursuing his future with as much momentum as he can.

In the summer of 1982, as he left the hospital with his first son, Prince William, at his side, Charles seemed at last to have found the happiness and fulfillment he sought so long. The crisis, posed the royal commentators in the British press, was that his was the first "unplanned" marriage of a Prince of Wales in British history. But was it? In the succeeding six years, in the marriage has all too publicly developed its problems, there has been growing distance from that view. "In many ways," said Herold Brooks Baker, editor of *British Personality*, the authoritative reference book on the British aristocracy, "it was an arranged marriage. He needed a lovely wife, and she filled the bill. Diana was an educated 20-year-old only too eager to marry him."

Within months of their marriage, it became clear that Diana was rapidly changing, her husband in a number of ways. After persuading him to give up sports that she disapproved of, including shooting and angling—sport, but not, in her opinion, polo—the married couple's work, put more color into his suits and turned his hair under the long dress, brought him some busy days and helped him grow more in touch with the values of his own generation. "But it only as young as you think you are," said a grateful Charles, prominently middle-aged for many years already. "Diana will keep me young." Does more significantly, the liberalized his wife's sense of his royal responsibilities to be involved with more vigor and freedom the alternative "back to nature" values and put suits close to his heart.

Charles had soon taken to his heart. "Oh, do grow up," said the Queen when he told her. He also engaged and disengaged himself, made his own decisions, had an occasional private scientist and nature, brought him design a wildflower garden at Balmoral, Charles's country home, 140 miles west of London, about which he



Charles and Diana in happier times: indifference



Passing in Japan pursuing the natural inclinations of an inquiring mind

elitism. As a result the history of the 20 English Princes of Wales before Charles is not particularly distinguished. But the latter half of the 20th century has itself combined by a prince determined to change all that.

By the late 1980s, Charles was placing himself squarely at the center of the contemporary political battleground. As his own personal philosophy has matured as his public work, as the role of his vision has grown, so has that of his determination to improve living and working conditions in postindustrial Britain. As he turns 40 on Nov. 14, the many disparate

things up," Charles has said, "to throw a general royal back through the window glass of pompous professional grade and lay bare the kind of aspects of our life which sleep this country from one end to the other."

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because obscure. At the heart of the high-grove garden, he designed and built himself a bower in which to meditate and retire. He began to post his elegant letters on his Duty of Cornwall column in southern England and took to regular state living the life of a Cornwall diary farmer or a Habeshan coffee "Alpo" again," suggested publisher Rupert Murdoch's mass-circulation newspaper *The Sun*.

The press curiosity was greatly whetted but permitted enough to suggest public concerns, much of it satirical. Was the future king becoming a bit of a crank? Among those who thought so was his rebellious down-to-earth father, Prince Philip, who had never had much love for matters of the spirit, and who now worried that married life with Diana was turning his eldest son "half." The word "sneak" was even heard on Prince Philip's lips. Visitors to his office in Buckingham Palace noticed two photographs of his daughter—Princess Anne—on display, but none of all his other children. When Charles cut down on his public engagements, retreating even further into himself, Philip went as far as to make his displeasure public by refusing for an week to visit his newborn grandson, Prince Harry—the second child of Charles and Diana, who was born in 1984. By that time, Diana had also made an enemy of Princess Anne, who might have expected to be one of Harry's godmothers. Rather than attend her nephew's christening, Anne insisted to spend the day at home shooting rabbits.

The Queen smoothed things over between father and son. But Philip remains deeply suspicious of Diana's influence on an son-in-law he thought he had programmed to emulate his own no-nonsense, shoot-from-the-hip style. Even today, as a 46-year-old father of two, Charles can still be induced to retreat by his father's criticism.

In his youth, the prince had been adventurous enough to earn himself the nickname of "Royal Action Man." For all his princely air, the time he attacked his reputation as the Playboy Prince, always on parading, playing polo, window-shopping and doing. But

the price of emulating his adobe-loving father was that he became more conservative in his attitudes, both public and private. Now, at last, with his newfound liberalism from Philip's shadow, Charles was becoming able to take intellectual risks as well as physical ones. Marriage to Diana had finally freed him—rather

Charles had explored his interest in spirituality with the median Wladimir Kahl worth, the short answer is no. The Opa board was shamelessly swatted at a Fleet Street was her by a British journalist on orders from an American scandal sheet to come up with a front-page lead overnight. When the British



Visiting British troops in 1985: a man of high seriousness who feels a deep sense of duty

later than most young men—free life of home and the powerful story of his parents, and the values of their generation. The thoughtful, even somewhat scornful prince whom his future subjects now saw for the first time was the real one, his natural self—locked perhaps, in a perpetual version of the adolescence he had never had, too able and anxious to pursue the natural inclinations of his equine mind.

Before warred to his outposts, some close on modern architecture, his father's ideas of industry and his own concern for the urban deprived, which has him out in the middle of the night clucking with the homeless street-dwellers of London. But they worried about the symbolism. But Charles really been trying to talk to his much-missed uncle, Lord Louis Mountbatten—assassinated by an Irish Republican Army bomb in 1979—no medals and even Opa board's? Though it was true that

popular press gleefully picked up the story, and the cartoonists had their fun with it, its widespread acceptance did the prince no harm. But the simple truth is that Charles, when he heard about it, did not even know what a Opa board was.

The prince had, however, retreated far enough from his own hazy public profile for the nation to grow concerned. When the American millionaire Arnold Hammer went to lunch at Highgrove, he emerged with the news that a had consumed mostly of vigorously produced vegetables. Charles boasted that he had grown them, himself and apparently culled of little else. The prince's public appearances grew infrequent and were little publicized. At first delighted to be relieved by Diana of the unrelenting spotlight he had endured all his life, he had grown weary of—and somewhat unattracted by—the age disappointment of crowds if he arrived without her. The Queen, the prince and their staffs, and indeed the palace itself, all believed that the public's curable interest in Diana would subside, at most, a couple of years. They were all taken by surprise when it continued to grow to uncontrollable proportions and to manifest itself, inevitably enough, in less pleasant ways.

It did not take long for the rumors of trouble to surface. First it was reported that Diana had become pregnant. Then newspaper reports said that she was spending all of Charles's money in wild shopping sprees, often with her mother. Then she was reported to be grum-

*With some  
relish the  
prince has  
mounted his  
political tight-  
rope and set  
forth into the  
unknown*





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### SPECIAL REPORT

Along about the royal way of life, dragging Charles back from the Royal Family's annual holiday at Scotland's Balmoral Castle, shoving herself away from the chandeliers of royal life behind the headlines of her gold-plated Sony Walkman. Though exasperated at the time, the rumors were accurate: Diana does worry constantly about her weight, and had in the antedance the-rath of pregnancy graced painfully this, as she worried to her new role as international fashion model. She does enjoy gossiping, especially for expensive clothes, to the complete point where it has become what Fleet Street calls "teal therapy." She does prefer the wardrobe of the Medici over that of the Medici, even if it is the Medici of the Medici, when King Juan Carlos of Spain keeps stylebop open house to the grey summer weather of the Scottish highlands and a schedule of heavy outdoor pursuits by day and chorales by night, with the world's most formidable, least escapable in-law. The first time she left Portugal, leaving Charles behind her, it was with just two words: "Sorry, Kissing."

As the 12-year age gap between them began to tell, it also became clear that Diana did not get on with her husband's friends and vice versa. For all the increasing dignity of most of her public appearances, the private princess remained very young even in her right, as exemplified as she was glamorous, as light-headed and hair-raising as Charles was sober and austere. Diana found Charles's overgenerous boring—she would at a dinner dance throughout dinner parties, out of her depth with the worldly conversation—while he found her friends, notably her American friends, naive. There followed a series of tragic scenes illustrating the differences in their interests and enthusiasms—most vividly the night of a bored Charles at a suit and he at rock singer Bob Geldof's 1986 Live Aid concert in London, while Diana's first lap to the same beat as the rest of the world's youth. After only six hours, Charles dragged Diana away to watch a polo game, telling her during that she had to be back home to "some rock and roll parties."

In her first few years as a princess, Diana had been swept away by her own publicity. Perhaps never before in the history of personality cults had someone become so famous and adored simply by existing. Diana was one of the world's best-known and best-loved women before she had turned even 100 words to public.

Along about the royal way of life, dragging Charles back from the Royal Family's annual holiday at Scotland's Balmoral Castle, shoving herself away from the chandeliers of royal life behind the headlines of her gold-plated Sony Walkman. Though exasperated at the time, the rumors were accurate: Diana does worry constantly about her weight, and had in the antedance the-rath of pregnancy graced painfully this, as she worried to her new role as international fashion model. She does enjoy gossiping, especially for expensive clothes, to the complete point where it has become what Fleet Street calls "teal therapy." She does prefer the wardrobe of the Medici over that of the Medici, even if it is the Medici of the Medici, when King Juan Carlos of Spain keeps stylebop open house to the grey summer weather of the Scottish highlands and a schedule of heavy outdoor pursuits by day and chorales by night, with the world's most formidable, least escapable in-law. The first time she left Portugal, leaving Charles behind her, it was with just two words: "Sorry, Kissing."

*A very 19th-century  
Agave, Charles increasingly wanted  
out of the modern world*

A voracious reader of her own newspaper clippings, the princess had soon fallen into the old trap of beginning to believe them. As they turned sour, however, so did she, the sporting the pseudonym she had previously cultivated. Charles attempted to be protective, but there are always limits to what even he can do. The

laid royal customs and practices. Gradually, Diana grew into a more conventional royal, white, at the same time, closely preserving her own individuality. It was the nature of Diana, for instance, who had previously cultivated a room to greet the pop singer Boy George, despite the awkward fact that he was being drug charges at the time, as opposed to the ever more royal princess who greeted him and some figures with a photograph and a confident handshake. Soon she was adding to the endearing list of charities and public organizations to benefit from her support. A visit to Britain's first war ward, in which she conspicuously refused to wear gloves when shaking hands with victims of the disease, did much to dispel public fear and misunderstanding of the disease.

Alas, her development had forgotten that she had come from a house bigger than all the royal residences outside London. She seemed little of the princess among the public that would have been expected, because of her unpolished, girl-next-door immaturity, strictly in the you-too-can-be-a-princess tradition. But Diana did not remain that kind of princess for long. Even before the emergence of a potential rival in the shape of midwife Sarah Ferguson, who wed Charles's brother Andrew in 1986 to become the Duchess of York, she had already been expected to be a princess in the shape of nothing else—into a potential princess, the Duchess had also been in 1981.



Dancing on Bred in 1978: a faded reputation as the Playboy Prince



Diary entries and are too fragile to be touched by human hand. It was a neat treat to the public relations pageant set. Diana, then 27, had carefully metamorphosed from an uncertain young girl into a polished queen.

Diana was taking charge. Her staying power as a world superstar was going her all-confidence she had previously lacked. As she examined the art of the royal public appearance, she began to take an almost sadistic pleasure in upstaging her husband at every occasion, private and public. For every new speech he made, she would wear a different hairstyle or hat. Photographers, she knew, were much more interested in her than him—as, still, were the crowds, who continued to gawk at Charles, rather than Diana, beamed in their direction. Charles's enormous duties, however, sprang from more than merely an understandably braided royal gene. The prince's appetite for details of the Princess of Wales's hair, her clothes, her hats, her most wishes, showed an interest that he might do or say. For a man desperate to be taken seriously, the told more of trivia became deeply enticing.

At last, preoccupations grew even more intense, as her new more frivolous.

While Charles denounced the architecture of the modern London skyline, Diana frequented fashion shows and discotheques. Whenever Charles toured Britain's blighted inner cities, on a social campaign that became his central mission in life, his princess was rarely at his side. Here, she had long since realized, was a greater power, but over her public and her husband. It was best preserved by opening her mouth as little as possible, and best explained by acting delighted bystanders, as she once wrote: "I'm as thick as a plate."

This celebrated remark proved just how savvy and streetwise Diana really was, while underlining the empty-headedness of which her audience had so accurately diagnosed. Inoperating the sumptuous gardens of a friend's country house, he complimented his foreign house on her excellent English. "My father believed in educating girls," she explained. "I



The Wales family in Majorca; she had liberated him to be himself.

work," muttered Charles, "that had been the philosophy in my wife's family."

Diana has said in the past that her childhood antipathy following the breakup of her parents' marriage made her all the more deter-

**D**iana began to take an almost sadistic pleasure in upstaging her husband

mined to create a stable and lasting marriage for herself. Her choice of partner, as it turned out, made her mission essential. Whatever its appeal, the words she had taught to was was not from which she could never, like her

mother, simply "disappear." But Charles was no longer the man Diana had married. When first she had fallen in love with him, her prince had been a stylish, jovial, British-style contemporary hero, the world's most eligible bachelor, with the looks and lifestyle to match. Diana's effect on him, by the crux of the moment, had been to expose that identity as a self-deluding sham. She had liberated Charles to be himself—a tortured, self-doubting, almost emaciated street, a man of ever more tortured know, bowed down by the accident of his birth, born in a century which he increasingly mistrusted. A very 19th-century figure, he increasingly wound out of the modern world. All Diana's James Bond world now was to be an organic former.

In Australia in January, 1988, when the couple's tour reached Melbourne, a visit to a music college was one of the highlights of an otherwise unexciting day. Conducted by the teacher who had given him cello lessons when he attended Australia's Geelong private school as a boy, Charles knew, with a sinking heart, that he would have to play in the class of music students and photographers assembled at the school. It was, he could easily see, a setup

for being stung with good grace—giving the cameras, both still and moving, the expected highlight of their day. Diana stood back watching, eyes on the move, unused to surrendering center stage to her husband.

Then, even as he was still in mid-photo opportunity, the princess panicked. Standing between the prince and the cameras, Diana made for a grand piano in the far corner of the room, taking the eyes of the women with her. She reversed the piano cover, lifted the lid and looked happily into the open heart of Beethoven's second piano concerto, still lodged in her mind from her school days. The cameras, of course, went berserk. Diana began to play. She played the piano in public. (An aide later confirmed this, adding that she occasionally played in the evenings in "entertain the Queen.") Once the elderly policeman had pronounced her "very musical" and placed

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ed as a well-known man on his left cheek, Diana's triumph was complete. Charles's return to the castle was already photographic history, consigned to the cutting-room floor. He had walked the red-carpeted aisle with this knowledge in his heart and a deep sadness in his eyes.

On the same trip, the prince saw day dressed as an Australian aborigine but—just the thing to cheer the photographers, whose hearts sick when he wore the same grey suit wherever he goes. In that suit alone, he might as well be in Scotland as in Sydney, but in a kilt and sporran only he is in Australia, and to the cheering believers every royal picture is worth a thousand conventional ones of thousands of people. One knowing photographer, however, kept his drop-faces less amused at the prince's. He had photographed Diana for eight years, ever since the revealing "see-through" dress affair of Diana in a London nursery school after her engagement to Charles was announced in 1981. He knew that even now, after being the world's number 1 cover girl throughout the 1980s, the princess's self-care knew no bounds.

Sure enough, the photographer saw Diana give him a sidelong glance to make sure that he was watching. Then, unperceptibly, she slid the hem of her skirt further and further up her knee—revealing, to this expert eye, "precisely as much more thigh than we'd ever seen before." After another sidelong glance, he made sure he had got the point, and the princess, the royal headline descended again. Then was confirmed the extraordinary truth that even Diana, Princess of Wales, even whom photographers have fought for nearly a decade, will still do everything to get her picture in the papers.

Diana's limited understanding of her constitutional role—like a suit, after all, only a lace top—has left her in line with the superstar demands of being royal, and bowed with the tedious round of duties which are its price. She has a husband who no longer understands her—nor

even, it seems, much loves her. In fact, to be true, she is married to a man who doesn't share her painful self-obsession, and who places an emphasis on her public life which is beyond her. Most of the time, it is all too clear, she is bored with him. More importantly, she is torn in deeply

wounded by his compulsion to be alone, aloof, aloof, aloof, aloof, aloof—ever at the point of spending weeks at a time without his children. The male world of the palace is the distance between Diana and the world of the character for Charles, one of the most loving of fathers, to convert to royal type and abandon his

ent dispositions: their very different interests and enthusiasms, their very different choice of friends. Perhaps it is possible for a Prince and Princess of Wales to conduct their lives at a sophisticated distance. But it is not the advantage that most of their contemporaries and future subjects would choose for themselves.



At a 1989 Scottish festival, the succession of tedious royal duties often bore the prince.

sons for days at a time in their fleet of nannies. Diana—who, unlike him, has had a chance to live in the real world—no doubt devoted a further year to do that.

And that, for the present, is where the matter rests. In the absence of any explanation

or indeed for the rapidly most of them about

in the meantime, Charles's publicly stated views on royal duties have brought him increasingly into opposition with Britain's female press minister, Margaret Thatcher. One morning last spring, the prime minister paid a call upon the Prince of Wales—at her request.

Through five minutes, rather the announcement of the meeting or its significance, the audience was (not unusually) listed in that day's official Court Circular, because it was more than just a chat about mutual interests. The discussion carried major constitutional implications, some of which would inevitably become public sooner or later.

There had for some time been rumors of bad blood between prince and prime minister. Lord Thatcher launched her own near-city crusade, on the day of her 1987 election victory, Prince Charles's frequent remarks about social decay and unemployment levels had seemed to carry an implicit criticism of her government's policy. There had been

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## SPECIAL REPORT

no great public controversy, because the prince had chosen his public words carefully (in effect, in fact, that Batten's tabloid press had made constitutionalists of themselves by suggesting that Charles might be given a seat in the cabinet, to take responsibility for the country's monetary policy). He only opposed the prime minister's aim. It is to be addressed directly—over Charles's reported vision of one day reigning over a "divided" Britain. And these being Charles's own, directly expressed views, rather than those of his friend Rodrick Hecker—who is president of the Royal Institute of British Architects—the prince would have been very out of bounds.

That's not, nevertheless, had come under pressure from her more right-wing party colleagues to curb the independent young pope's increasingly forward conduct in the House of Commons itself, Prince Charles was described by Tony Marlow, Conservative member of Parliament for Northampton North as "wired to be king."

Charles, besides, had grown up in the era of Conservative prime minister Harold Macmillan, an old-fashioned "One Nation" Tory whose period in office during the late 1950s and early 1960s was marked by a belief in the welfare state and the basic principle that the state had a duty to aid and conduct the less fortunate. Margaret Thatcher had spent almost a decade denigrating that philosophy and turning Britain into an every man for himself society. Having fashionably realigned many another major British institution, perhaps it was time the Thatcher revolution recognized the monarchy as well.

But, Thatcher, the great daughter of a grocery-store operator, is herself a devout monarchist. One of the reasons she is less liked personally by the present royal family than some of her most predecessors is her excessive outspokenness in their presence. The Queen, and to some extent Prince Charles, despite their private political views, warmed more to the respectful homeliness of Harold Wilson and James Callaghan, the last two Labour Party prime ministers, than the stiff, ice-cold Conservative leaders Edward Heath and Margaret Thatcher. It would take more than a few passing flickers for even her to wish to go down in history as the prime minister who emasculated the monarchy, thus prepotizing its eventual abolition.

Thatcher cooed Charles's boisterous early aversion to become governor-general of Australia. With her new understanding of Charles's preferences, she comprehended that Australian outlaws and other political factors had eventually ruled that out. But there were no such obstacles to his becoming governor of

the British Crown colony of Hong Kong for the last year of its life under British rule—just as his beloved Uncle Duke, Lord Mountbatten, had been the last Viceroy of India before its independence in 1948.

Hong Kong, under a long-standing agreement, will be returned to Chinese sovereignty



Sarah and Andrew in Los Angeles, Charles (below) in Australia

in 1997. The long and tortuous process of economic and physical development is already well under way. Perhaps a year before the formal handover, all the political parties will have been resolved by a succession of professional diplomats holding the title of governor. The colony's last 18 months under



British may well be purely ceremonial—a chance for Charles to hold commissions, quasi-monarchical ones, while showing himself to be a man of his times by dealing formally with a contemporary power of the state and importance of the People's Republic of China.

The prime minister was daunting a political career, which the Prince of Wales found nearly daunting. The Hong Kong skyline was scarcely to his architectural taste, nor as lithe as especially close to his wife's long, long hair, but the symbolism—and the coming link with Mountbatten—struck home. It was precisely the civil-civil, overt public office which he had coveted for so long. There were other, lesser possibilities in the selection, like providing over more investments, garden parties—the ritual business of equity which largely goes unpublicized. Hong Kong was a really attractive prospect, but it seemed a long time away.

Thatcher held out the tantalizing prospect of other substantial advances in the monetary, representing the wealth prize minister's confidence to Charles, the ministers of what was once Britain's empire, and will one day be his own global kingdom, are of paramount importance. He shares his mother's deep-seated belief that it is among the contemporary monarch's primary duties to promote the Commonwealth and provide its interests. The only public dis-agreement between Elizabeth II and Thatcher, so far, was over the issue of economic sanctions against South Africa. The Queen had always, by adroit action, to take the best constitutional step of making her opposition to government policy known. Given Britain's diminishing role in contemporary geopolitics, the Commonwealth often takes less place behind the United States, next, the European Community and the Common Market. The British government's calculation of self-interest. The monarchy's stubborn resistance to this process was another reason again upon the prime minister by her backbenchers to deprive the monarchy of its last, lingering fingerhold on political sway.

There was another very specific recent example of such dauntancy, as Thatcher was one of pains to push out to Prince Charles in November, 1987, at a conference of environment ministers from North Sea oil-producing countries, the environmentalist prime had denounced the North Sea as "a rubbish dump." Following the meeting between Mrs. Thatcher and the prince, the prime minister's office announced that this would be the first of many "consultative" meetings between her and the Prince of Wales. It was also made clear



Charles and Princess Diana, with the Queen at a polo match. Family affairs take second place to the prince's public ambitions.

that the government of Hong Kong would come only at a price. The government hoped, requests were told at a subsequent briefing, "that greater involvement in the nation's affairs will curb the prince's recent spate of outbursts attacks which have caused deep resentment in some government departments."

It was clear what the prime minister had implied to Charles—and the address of his speeches immediately after the meeting seemed to suggest that he had taken her point. For from then explicitly attacking government policy, the prince on one occasion even managed to praise, briefly and indirectly, Minister Kenneth Clarke by name. He was "very grateful," he said, "for the personal energy and enthusiasm which Mr. Kenneth Clarke is putting into his whole operation from the government side."

This was indeed a remarkable transformation. Ten days after the prince's meeting with the prime minister in Kensington Palace, however, Thatcher's finger was even more pointedly wagged at the prince by one of her most senior lieutenants, former cabinet minister and Conservative party chairman Norman Tebbit. The prince's concern over the minor crisis, said Tebbit on *Parade*, the British Broadcasting Corp.'s flagship current affairs program, could prove "dangerous" for the monarchy if he were to take it "too far." Tebbit even suggested that Charles's anxieties about the unemployed might derive from his own personal hold on anything world-class. "I think I suppose the Prince of Wales feels extremely sympathy toward those who've got no job because in a way he's got no job, and he's prohibited from having a job until he inherits the throne. He's 40, yet he's not here able to take responsibility for anything, and I think that's really his problem."

The characteristically insistent tone in Tebbit's recent column concerning some of the

prince's recent conversation with Thatcher. "We're in for a period of night, 16, perhaps 20 years of Conservative government," Tebbit went on, "and therefore any criticism of the world as it is sounds like a criticism of the government." If the prince, added Tebbit, "advocated a socialist solution, a Labour Party solution, that would begin to get dangerous."

Given another recent interview in which he had expressed a willingness to succeed Thatcher as prime minister, were she to retire with-

out the nation's other universal mother—and the prime's own—was not going to see her sacred trust abused in this way by more politicians. The following evening, at a Windsor Castle banquet in honor of King Olav of Norway, Queen Elizabeth attracted unusual attention to herself by calling for greater efforts to save the North Sea fish of pollution. "It is in the interests of both our nations," said the Queen, "to see that the health and cleanliness of the North Sea are maintained, and that its renewable resources are only exploited on a sustainable basis." The monarch's remarks, though apparently innocent, were usually outspoken. The full significance of her reference to the North Sea, however, was lost on all but two of her glittering array of guests.

Among the Queen's audience that evening by no coincidence, were both prime and prime minister. The Queen, with her own politician's skill for the trifling gesture, was warning Thatcher in her turn that she too could go too far. Only three people in that guest chamber at Windsor knew the connection between the Kensington Palace meeting, the Tebbit television interview and the Queen's welcome to one of her closest friends among fellow monarchs. It was typical, however, that the Queen chose to couch her coded reply to the prime minister in the form of a covert tribute to an heir who was not fulfilling all her hopes and aspirations.

In a week when Charles had been under fire from a possible future prime minister, in a year when he had suffered a series of bruising conflicts both private and public, in an age when a Prince of Wales can sometimes be forgiven for thinking that he cannot get a bad night, this was the sovereign's proud and affectionate way not only of keeping her prime minister in her place, but of making it publicly clear that this is a son in whom she is well pleased.

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All Souls College, Oxford: a powerful skyline surrounds the university in Japan

## EDUCATION

# An ambitious appeal

*Oxford embraces a new spirit of innovation*

For the past eight centuries, students attending Britain's Oxford University have strolled the ancient streets of what the poet Matthew Arnold called "that sweet city with her dreaming spires." But twice two years, one group of Oxford pupils may be studying in altogether different surroundings. The sprawling Japanese port city of Kobe. St. Catherine's, one of the 38 affiliated colleges that make up Oxford, is negotiating to set up a branch there in partnership with a Japanese company, Kobe Steel Corp. The plan for a college in Kobe is both a sign of a new spirit of innovation at the once tradition-bound university—and a response to the bank's recent disaster suffered by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government.

The new government policies have left Oxford seriously short of funds. In 1981, govern-

ment grants accounted for two-thirds of the fund's annual income. That share is now just 45 per cent—and government funds are scheduled to decline by 3.5 per cent a year for another two years. As a result, the university cannot afford to fill 112 vacant teaching posts. Administrators have even suggested that it may be necessary for Oxford to abandon its costly system of seven-year tutorials for its 8,500 undergraduate students. Said Henry Dracott, Oxford's director of development, "We are facing a serious deterioration in standards."

In response, the university has turned increasingly to private sources of financing—including a five-year campaign to raise \$475 million, which was launched last month. The campaign is by far the most ambitious appeal ever launched by a British university. Forty fund raisers in Oxford, along with 17 in New York City and three in Tokyo, will canvas

corporations and Oxford graduates around the world. Unlike leading U.S. universities, which have sophisticated fund-raising operations, Oxford lacked even a complete list of its alumni. Now, the university has compiled a list of 118,506 graduates—including 1,600 in Canada. "For years, the feeling was that fund-raising was not profitable," said Dracott. "That certainly is not the view now."

By far the most ambitious plan is St. Catherine's proposal for a college in Kobe. If the negotiations are successful, the college could open by 1989—the first inside Oxford's municipal limits since medieval scholars began teaching in the city about 90 km northwest of London at the end of the 13th century. The Kobe campus would offer a one-year course in management studies and engineering to about 50 Japanese students, increasing their chances of being admitted to Oxford itself. Alan Taylor, a real-estate broker at St. Catherine's who held talks in September with Kobe Steel executives, said that a powerful employee network at the Oxford name in Japan gives the college a chance to tap new sources of funds.

Japanese money and innovative methods have also moved another legendary Oxford institution, The Oxford Union, the 160-year-old debating society where generations of students have honed their speaking skills. Based on longevity in the early 1980s with few members and annual deficits as high as \$200,000, it was brought back from the edge of collapse when its leaders hatched aggressive recruitment drives and generated companies to sponsor debates—for a fee. The union's survival was ensured in September when a Japanese company, the Mitsubishi Trust and Banking Corp., donated \$2.1 million to repair its crumbling complex at 13th-century buildings.

Oxford is also putting its scientific resources to more profitable use. In September, the university formed its Knowledge Ltd., a company designed to identify and market inventions arising from research stored out in the faculty laboratories, but in looking for firms willing to pay for the rights to use Oxford-developed research and plans to divide profits between the investor and the university. "It fits in with the spirit of the age," said its managing director James Holliday. "There's much more entrepreneurial spirit about."

Oxford's success at shaking off its image of genteel complacency has not, however, eased the concerns of other university administrators. They point out that Oxford has a worldwide reputation to draw on in raising funds. That most of Britain's 45 other universities have fewer resources, while their financial woes are just as serious. Bruce at Oxford, some academics say that the likes of the new university may not be evenly distributed. Although academic research may benefit from private-sector financing, they say, the social sciences, humanities and classics continue to face funding. The entrepreneurial spirit at Oxford is overblowing," said Bruce. "The motto (slogan) of St. Catherine's 'But we have to remember that our primary function is still teaching.'"

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Oxford



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## BOOKS

# Troubled journey

*A Canadian Jew travels to the heart of Israel*

THE GARDEN AND THE GUN  
A JOURNEY INSIDE ISRAEL  
by Ilana Patai  
(Lester & Orpen Group, 252 pages, \$15.95)

**A**lthough she speaks neither Hebrew nor Arabic, 50-year-old Toronto-based writer Ilana Patai is well equipped to write a book about Israel. She has chronicled the experience of the Jews in Canada and, more recently, she exam-



Patai sensing the undertone of insecurity

ined the problems of French Jewry in *Unholyd's World: France and the Return of the Ashkenazi*. As a Jew herself, Patai was raised in the Reform tradition and describes herself as "a humanist with a deeply felt commitment to Jewish history and an equally deeply felt commitment to human rights." In her new book, *The Garden and the Gun*, Patai explains that in January, 1987, trip to Israel was at "tempt to glimpse the reality" of a land that she had always been "a country of the mind."

No sooner had the author landed at Tel Aviv's Ben Gurion airport than an incident occurred that illustrated the country's difficult and duplicitous nature. Patai describes how she got into a taxi—a shared taxi—loaded for Jerusalem and then watched as an argument in Hebrew broke out on the sidewalk near

the car. A fellow passenger translated for her: an Orthodox Jew was refusing to get into the taxi with a woman. Within five minutes, her neighbor had told her that he was born in Vienna and had survived the Holocaust—and then asked her why she herself was not planning to settle in Israel. "His question," she writes, "haunted demanding because it was."

Patai was already experiencing the emotional tug and pull that afflicts many Jewish visitors to Israel. Throughout her 10-week reportage, Patai's secular Judaism was under attack by Orthodox Jews. Wanting to gain a better understanding of the fundamentalist strain of Jewish tradition, she spent time in a yeshiva—or college—for the indoctrination of secular Westernized women wishing to return to the fold of orthodoxy. "Men deal in abstract thoughts, and women express those thoughts in the world," a rabbi told the students. "Therefore it is obvious that women should learn less than men."

Patai interviewed a young American woman, a former Catholic, for whom that lesson was not an obstacle and she attended the woman's ritual hand-masking her conversion to Orthodox Jewry. Patai also went to a traditional wedding ceremony, which she says she found moving but in "foreign to me as a Zoltan rite." But it was at a soldier's meal in the new anatomy Gordin house of a wartime-dependent American traveling salesman that she felt most alien. "For the first time in my life," she recalled, "I had been perceived as essentially antisemitic. Only one attribute would have made me a worthwhile human being—to live according to the precepts of the Torah."

Patai also explores Israel's best-known secular institution, the kibbutz. She examines how the kibbutz experiment in rural communal living has evolved over four decades. At Kibbutz Yotat, on the Lebanese border, a pioneering settlement had turned into what Patai calls a "modern, agro-industrial, collective enterprise whose members lead a comfortable middle-class life." The kibbutz grew food crops and ran a computer-controlled factory for the manufacture of de-irrigation equipment—an Israeli innovation that delivers water to plants drop by drop in measured proportions.

The social changes were equally great: the idea of raising children separately from their parents had been dropped by the second gener-

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# BOOKS

ation. Paris was faced a tabernacle couple whose biggest problem was how to find holy matrimony in the evening about the exchange of money and services was still far behind. In fact, for most Christians, questions for the members resolved around the timing of outside labor.

Beneath the daily troubles, Paris was quick to sense the undercurrent of fear and uncertainty that haunted Israel. As the Israeli politician Eliahu Smith said her, both governments in Israel believe that the Western powers did nothing to save the Jews during the Second World War. As well, he said, Israel has a huge mortality, based on the widespread fear that the 150 million Arabs who surround them are waiting for an opportunity to wipe the country out.

At the heart of Paris's troubles, however, is the 21-year-old military occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan. She made only the briefest of forays into that unpredictable region but came back with a vivid impression of the humiliation and the deep-seated hatred of its Palestinian inhabitants. She returned among some of the 65,000 Jewish settlers who have moved to the West Bank, finding attitudes that ranged from old-fashioned colonialism to extreme self-righteousness.

In her discussion of the West Bank situation, Paris offers nothing new about the plight of Palestinian Arabs. She is more effective at conveying the despair of thoughtful Israelis and Palestinians who have tried to confront the problem. Danny Rubenstein, a veteran reporter for *Haaretz*, the official organ of the Labor Party, said to her: "When I tell my friends that I'm going to a town like Ramatlik in the West Bank, they look at me as though I've said I'm going to take a walk in Central Park at midnight. There's almost no contact any more. And that is truly dangerous." Ruben Abu Ayash, head of the Arab Journalists' Association in the Occupied Territories, spoke to Paris about her desire to write about his own life, which had begun 30 years earlier in a refugee camp. Suddenly, wrote Paris, "something strange happened." Ayash flinched, stopped speaking and stared at the floor. "We sat in silence, wordless and embarrassed because despair had broken through the final idea of professionalism."

There is a similar moment in the last and most accessible interview in the book—with Meron Benvenisti, a former deputy mayor of Jerusalem. Since 1983, Benvenisti has been compiling—with the help of the Fund for Palestine—a scrupulously detailed study on all aspects of life in the territory. Asked if things could deteriorate further on the West Bank, he said: "They can't. This is it. The two-tier system is already in place. It is cruel war between Jews and Arabs in Palestine—that's how I define it. The conflict is endemic. It cannot be resolved, only managed." That bleak judgment was made before the signing of the occupied territories that began last December. It is a tribute to Paris's sharp insight and discretion that *The Garden and the Ghetto* is still painfully relevant.

GEORFFREY JAMES

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## YOUTH

# The baby busters

*A new generation is making its mark on society*

Joseph Deutscher's family also tells him that he works too hard. But Deutscher has a retort. With an annual income of about \$40,000, the 25-year-old science graduate from the University of Saskatchewan works as a production engineer at a Dow Chemical of Canada Inc. plant in Port St. Lawrence, 85 km southeast of Edmonton. And if all goes according to his plan, Deutscher says, the focus is going to be bright. "I should be a senior production engineer in the next year or so," he explains. "Then a production specialist in two or three years and a production supervisor within five years." Like many other members of the post-baby-boom who grew up in the post-war era, Deutscher is confident that his skills are going to be in demand and that he is going to climb the corporate ladder quickly. But unlike members of the baby boom who grew up in the post-war era, Deutscher is a troubled baby buster—one of the generation of tough-minded, ambitious and chummy young males who are beginning to make their mark on North American society.

Members of the generation born since the early 1960s—when the baby boom that followed the Second World War began to slow dramatically—the baby busters are also eager to climb the corporate ladder quickly, but on their own terms. At the University of Toronto history professor John Hargrave says that the busters have a great deal of individual influence with employers because of the demand for their skills.

John Hargrave is a typical buster. Last May, the 23-year-old political science graduate of Beiker's University in Lewistown, Que., joined Saskatchewan Canada Ltd., a multinational furniture manufacturing company, as a sales representative in the firm's Markham, Ont., branch. Hargrave says that she gave the entire careful thought before deciding to join the firm.

"The company has a great deal of growth potential," said Hargrave. "Because it is ranked as the top 100 companies in Canada, there had to be a lot of good things about it." Initially, said Hargrave, who earns about \$25,000 a year



Hargrave: concerned about the rewards of being challenged and a feeling of being involved

including profit-sharing benefits, her goals were primarily monetary. But now, she says, she is more concerned about the rewards of being challenged. Declared Hargrave, "I want a feeling of being involved."

Karen Crossin, a partner in the chartered accountancy firm of Touche Ross & Co. in Halifax, says that the desire for quick upward mobility is common among busters. "They're prepared to work hard and achieve," she says. "There are so many opportunities that they're not scared. They are ambitious and they're eager to get to the top right away."

Those attitudes, in turn, mean that many companies must deal with the changing demands that their younger employees place on them. Some firms have started to offer higher salaries for entry-level jobs in an attempt to entice a new generation of workers who have

the luxury of being selective. Patricia Cooper, a human resources manager for Prime Electronics in Toronto, an international firm of chartered accountants, says that the challenge for all industries now is to make long-term careers appealing. "You can't assume they're going to stay with you forever," Cooper says. "Security at the expense of having an interesting and challenging position no longer exists."

Like many other companies, Prime Electronics has developed new sets of working options—harder workweeks and flexible hours that are designed particularly to appeal to their young employees. Other businesses have had to add new benefits. Indeed, three weeks ago, IBM Corp. began offering extended personal leaves of up to three years with paid benefits to its U.S. employees. Declared Co-

per: "I think everyone is accepting—collectively or not—the fact that society is evolving and that organizations have to adapt as well."

Still, some busters, including Paul Kandel, a 27-year-old equity researcher at Baskins Trust Co. in New York City, say that some of their older co-workers resist members of his generation. "These people in their 30s say, 'Look at this guy. He's just out of business school and look what he's getting paid,'" and Kandel, a 26-year-old stock analyst at a Wall Street firm, who started out as a clerk, also says that there is a different attitude among the newer recruits. "The people in their 30s all had to search some hours before they got where they are today. I see it. With the younger set, I get the feeling that they don't think anyone needs favors."

Last year, officials at the London, Ont.-based

London Life Insurance Co. conducted a training program for 325 managers to help them understand the changing aspirations of their younger employees. "It's entirely different now," said James Robertson, the firm's 50-year-old vice-president of corporate affairs.

"When I came out of university in 1962, my life was fairly well set—right a job, get married, have kids, buy a house, and, if you worked hard you'd advance," Mr. Robertson says. "But today's young men are 21 and 20, added that many bastards aren't concerned about those things. They're willing to take chances, be more flexible," said Robertson. "We know that if we keep our noses to the ground, things would work out for us. They're not so sure."

For his part, John Kettle, author of a 1980 book on the baby boom generation entitled *The Big Generation*, maintains that what is occurring now is only a facet of what will happen when those boomers during the early 1970s—when Canada's birthrate was sharply declining from the baby boom years—enter the workforce. In Canada, only 300,000 babies were born in 1974 compared with 479,270 in 1969, at the height of the baby boom. Similarly, in the United States, only 2.1 million children were born in 1973 compared with 4.3 million in 1967, at the peak of the boom in that country.

"The message here is: You don't see anything yet," said Kettle. "There will be at least five more years in which the number of babies entering is going to be less than that of the year."

And the shortage, he added, means that wages for young workers will inevitably increase. But many company officials note that salaries now appear to be less important for young adults who are at the early stages of their careers. Said Fred Wroblewski, a Cooper "Baird" co., they're very career-oriented but they come to a point where they say, "Gee, I don't want to be that way. That's happening sooner, and they're planning for it." Peter Frost, who teaches organizational behavior at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, says that students now want to have choices and that they put emphasis on both work and leisure. "They want a sense of challenge, of satisfaction and interest in both their working lives and in the nonwork areas of their lives," said Frost. "They want to make money, but it doesn't come first in their list of priorities. They want the money to be able to do things they want to do."

For Deutscher, a good salary is a way to reduce his debt quickly—including a \$50,000 mortgage on a three-bedroom bungalow in

northwest Edmonton—before starting a family. And after getting caught up into retirement savings and company stock each month, Deutscher says that he has enough left over for "the joys"—including a brand-new \$32,000 Mazda six Turbo GT sports car and a video cassette recorder, microwave oven, stereo

system, including the VCR. He or the political career of the 1960s Catherine Morris, assistant dean of commerce at the University of British Columbia, says that some students get involved in such campus activities as student councils.

But Morris added that many participate not only out of personal interest but from a desire to make their professional résumé look better. Said Judy Irving, 25, an assistant to a media planner at Baker Lanick Advertising in Vancouver: "My career will always be important to me, but there are other things that are important as well," including saving, playing tennis and eventually having a family. Politics, however, is not among them. By taking part in such activities as the commerce student council, Irving says that while she was pursuing her interests, she was also conscious of the need to make useful personal contacts and improve her résumé.

Fairly as a result of that attitude, observers including Hughes, who describes a course in popular culture, say that baby boomers may be less likely to have as great an impact on society as their predecessors. Said Hughes: "From the late 1970s, there has been no real cultural movement. That's sad because it's a whole area of adolescence that individuals have focused on. It's all very segmented." The lack of a unifying culture, says Hughes, may weaken the group culturally and socially. As a result, he added, more young people may be "concerned toward cultural possessions rather than thinking in broader terms."

Still, some observers say that the boomers' priorities are basically not much different from those of their elders. Said Barry Doyle, an employment consultant at the Canada Employment Centre at Wilfrid Laurier University: "They're all looking for employment relating to their studies, with a decent starting salary and opportunity for advancement. There are no changes in what students are looking for now versus the early 1960s, when I was thinking of myself." But in one respect, at least, the two groups clearly differ. Where those born later in the peak of the boom have had tough competition for spaces in good universities and decent jobs, many baby boomers share Deutscher's confidence that—during the time being, anyway—the sky is the limit.

NORA UNDERWOOD with PHIL ANNESLEY in Vancouver, ELAINE O'NEILL in Edmonton, DARRIN MANOCH in Halifax and DAVID LINDGREN in New York City



Deutscher: a quick climb up the ladder—and a bright future

system and digital gear.

Unlike their predecessors, boomers show a notable lack of interest in politics. Many observers attribute that indifference to the fact that the boomers have never been personally

confronted with the challenges of



Photo: Bob

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## FASHION

## New Soviet styles

Russia is rejuvenating its fashion industry

**S**ergei Zaitsev, fashion designer to Moscow's elite, is under siege. Dressed in a green pinst jacket, pink shirt and pink socks, he runs down a hall at Dom Mod, the Soviet Union's pre-eminent fashion house, doing his best to dodge employees who seek his attention. He is unaccustomed and, in response to questions, looks a series of orders to visiting staff members. It is another hectic day for the 50-year-old Zaitsev, whose reputation as a leading designer in the Soviet Union—a country that has never been renowned for its fashion—has attracted even Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's wife, Raisa, as a client. In fact, Zaitsev and other Soviet designers credit Gorbachev's current reform program—along with his wife's commitment to fashion and the arts—with rejuvenating the country's neglected fashion industry and opening new international interest in Soviet design. Declared Zaitsev: "It's for the right of beauty, which was forbidden for all these years. Now, under Gorbachev, I am allowed to go outside and show my collections to the West."

But artistic freedom and the freedom to travel abroad—Zaitsev has shown his collections in France, the United States and Canada—are not the only benefits that Soviet designers have won under Gorbachev's liberating influence. As well, they now are allowed to share in part of the profits from sales outside the Soviet Union. As a result, Zaitsev, who is negotiating with a Paris-based company to produce a line of accessories and a perfume bearing his name, could earn thousands of dollars in foreign currency—possession of which is forbidden to most Soviet citizens. Zaitsev, who currently earns a monthly salary of about \$500 as director of Dom Mod, says that as a prospect, he can barely imagine. He adds, "For 25 years, I have been only a creator, not a businessman." Now, as the only Soviet designer who is allowed to put his own name on clothing labels, Zaitsev stands to become rich. He declared, "I am as absolute power in this field."

Zaitsev is an admirer of such designers as Yves Saint Laurent and Valentino, and his clothes are more complicated than the simple jackets, skirts and pants that Russian women

used to buy. They can thus buy high-quality natural fabrics and accessories.

But fashion critics say that the poorest quality of Soviet manufactured textiles and finished clothes is still a major problem. A recent article in the publication *Natalya*, a weekly insert in the national newspaper *Izvestiya* noted that Soviet consumers "were not overly enthusiastic" about five Pierre Cardin designs produced recently under a joint agreement with the Soviet Zhenskaya Moda manufacturing company. The reason, the factory's chief designer said, was that the contract had

not provided fabrics or accessories for the designs. One result was a dull-purple polyester dress decorated with a black, imitation-leather buckle at the waist. To most serious problems, Kachurava, who is employed by Dom Mod—another house that designs for the average working woman—said that her firm is negotiating with an Italian manufacturer to produce some. Dom Mod's designs and included a special shop to sell them. "However," she added, "the clothes will be very expensive."

Most Soviet women cannot afford the products of Moscow's leading designers. A wool suit by Zaitsev sells for between \$300 and \$500, while dresses are priced at up to \$3,000 each—far beyond the reach of the average Soviet woman, who earns about \$400 a month. Said Tatyana Pyridina, a designer at Dom Mod: "Our clients are often foreigners from the embassies."

Zaitsev's success has become a source of inspiration for young Soviet designers. Gaida Yatsina, a fourth-year student at Moscow's Koryun Tsvetkova Institute, said that she and other classmates will start competitive fashion houses of their own. She added, "Glance has given us more hopes for the future."

Many students say that their goal is to emulate the success of Zaitsev, who began his professional life as a designer of work clothes. It was not until

1982 that he was permitted to open Dom Mod and create his own collections. Now, Zaitsev shakes his head as he contemplates the possibilities that he about. He commented, "I feel a great happiness in showing people around the world my work and speaking to them through my work and art." For a businessman of the glamorous art, that is indeed a fitting design.

BARBARA RINGHART in Moscow



Zaitsev with model: new artistic freedom under Gorbachev

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James, meeting guitar gods and a host of pop melodies and blues

## MUSIC

# Blues brothers

*Two Canadians are on the brink of stardom*

**T**he crossroads, according to an enduring blues legend, is where aspiring musicians go to make their deal with the devil. In blues lore, a young guitarist in the 1930s named Robert Johnson went down to a place in the Mississippi delta where two roads met and signed a satanic pact in exchange for stardom. A version of that legend is now being played by two young Canadian musicians, Vancouver's Colin James and Toronto's Jeff Healey.

Although neither James nor Healey has made any devilish deals, each is a talented guitarist playing in a blues tradition—and both are clearly standing at the crossroads of fame and fortune.

James, 24, and Healey, 22, have been signed to international record contracts and each is now enjoying a top-selling debut album. Colin James (Virgin/446), which was released in August and spawned the hit single *Hoodoo Thing*, has reached platinum status with Canadian sales of 180,000 copies. And Healey—who is blind—released *See the Light* (Arista/800) in mid-September, and the album has sold almost 80,000 copies.

Already veteran performers on

Canada's hallowed circuit, both artists are currently dazzling capacity crowds in even larger arenas. The freewheeling James, who opened stadium-size concerts across North America this summer for British pop star Status Quo, is completing a cross-Canada tour that wraps up this week with a triumphant homecoming—five sold-out nights at Vancouver's Commodore Ballroom, Meanwhile He-

aley—who recently finished the sound track for the upcoming movie *Dead Heat*, in which he has a small role—in new scoring across Canada from west to east with a pair that culminates in Montreal on Nov. 25. And everywhere, James and Healey are winning acclaim from rock fans and blues aficionados alike. Still celebrated American guitarist Steve Ray Vaughan ("Jeff is one of the greatest guitar players around") and Cole has got what it takes to go anywhere he wants with his mixture of pop and blues.

In fact, James began scoring an apprenticeship with Vaughan after opening shows for him in 1984 in Saskatoon and Regina, James's home town. The Texas-based, Grammy-winning Vaughan then took James with him on a tour of Canada—and brought him onstage each night for a concert-length session of duelling guitars. Later, at his own expense, Vaughan had James accompany him at performances through the United States. "It's gratifying for the fact I've had," and James last month. "It's given me a great foundation."

Indeed, luck once literally landed James on the table of some record-company executives, in the studio of one of his full-blown rhythmic-blues mentors last year at Vancouver's Town House. James leapt off the stage and onto a table where representatives of the British-based label Virgin Records were seated—spilling all their drinks in the process. But without missing a note, he unleashed a scorching guitar solo that led to a standing ovation and to his current multi-record deal with Virgin. It was the kind of go-for-bronze performance that was captured on his recording debut, a blues mix of pop melodies and blues riffs, and that James offered in Toronto last month during a frenzied 90-minute show.

For all his powerhouse performer style, James grew up on much milder sounds. One of four children of William and Joyce Blum, both Quakers and Regina social workers, James says that he remembers hearing music in his family's home from an early age—"mostly The Weavers and stuff like that." When his parents began taking him to folk festivals, James remembered blues and rock, and his father's acquaintance Johnny Shivers led James to "Blues" discovered this wild world of 1930s blues—people like Ray Brown and Johnny "Ain't—no—no" and the whole idea of the blues nuts and Jackie Wilson doing backflips and meowing. "I still feel it terribly romantic."

Like James, Jeff Healey is now winning accolades from established blues artists, people who are in his own boots. Along with Vaughan and respected blues musician Albert Collins, blues giant B.B. King has rung his primes. King first met Healey backstage after a Vancouver concert that the blues legend gave in 1986. King agreed to listen to the teenager's guitar playing for five minutes and wound up staying for an hour and a half. And Healey has convinced his mentor, who has listened with his music, which is steeped in the 1930s blues and rock traditions of Eric Clapton and Jimi

Stephen Gelfi, Healey, Rockman, James and Fortune



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### MUSIC

Hendrix. Sitting with his electric guitar across his lap, Hendrix has the unorthodox habit of leaping all his left hand fingers, including his thumb on the fret board. In fact, his thumb also performs fluid slides and sophisticated note-bending—usually requiring a guitarist's cross-domination fingerless. "Whichever way is comfortable is all right," Hendrix said in an interview, "as long as what comes out is coherent."

On his surprisingly confident debut album, Hendrix is more than coherent in the blues language—he is fluent. Born with eye cancer, Hendrix, who lost his sight by the age of 1, demonstrated a facility with music as a three-year-old, when his father, Herman, father and his housewife mother bought him his first guitar. An interest in the jazz of Louis Armstrong and Rex Nadeaubeck encouraged him to join the high-school band, and in 1963 and 1964, Hendrix was chosen as officer of the Canadian Stage Band Festival. Then, he said, your position fell apart away from him. He added: "After a certain point that sort of thing wasn't big, so I started listening to jazz, Hendrix and Led Zeppelin. Then I realized that something must have come before that and so I discovered people like B. B. King, Elmore James and Buddy Guy." The music encompasses all of these styles. In fact, Hendrix seems a collection of more than 10,000 images and blues. The first now, in concert, Hendrix has begun analyzing Hendrix and playing the guitar while holding a behind his head—and even picking out notes with his teeth.

Such musical skills and showmanship led New York City-based Arista Records to sign Hendrix and his band—drummer Tom Wiggins and bassist Joe Rodriguez—in 1967. Label president Clive Davis, the industry reformer behind such stars as Dionne Warwick and Whitney Houston, has taken a strong personal interest in the Toronto guitarist. And after recording his debut album, Hendrix experienced the kind of good fortune that has come James's way. A copy of a Hendrix note would up in Hollywood and led to both a record-truck album and an acting part in *Good Times*, a movie starring Patrick Swayze tentatively scheduled for release next February. Hendrix's character is a musician named on-Swartz, who plays the bass in a nightclub. Despite the string back, Hendrix counts that his future lies in music.

The future for both Hendrix and James seems rosy. Their album, with superb label backing, are primed for worldwide release. And while Hendrix is about to embark on a European tour with his band, James is considering one. Neither guitarist, despite his devotion to the blues, is content to perform for a strictly blues-loving audience. Both James, who dedicated his album to musical pioneers including Robert Johnson, "I want to take all those audiences and become an international success. I want to keep my options open," said James—and his friend, nobody just—James, and Hendrix are both guitarists who are determined to succeed on their own terms.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

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Vieno, Keaton in *The Good Mother*: conflicting erotic and maternal instincts

## FILMS

# A family affair

A new movie looks at sex and mothers

She wore a straitjacket. Marie Black and ended at the waist with a muscle car belt. It tumbled into a box that stopped just far enough above the wheels to show off extra-strapped stockings. Attached to the front were two ornate artificial flowers, each almost as large as her face, which was framed by bangs and a swig of straight, blue hair. Green-tinted glasses obscured her eyes. But the smile was instantly familiar, the surrendering, self-deprecating smile of Diane Keaton, last far words to define herself. Interviewed last week in New York City about her new movie, *The Good Mother*, Keaton glibly accepted another cup of coffee ("Coffee, mamma, but") and talked about the role of women she likes to portray. "I guess they are characters who have complicated feelings," she said. "They're kind of one place at once, conflicted a lot. Going one way or the other. I guess I don't really know 'What do you think?'"

In *The Good Mother*, Keaton portrays a woman too complicated for her own good, a mother who is torn between her love and her young daughter. Based on the best-selling 1986 novel by U.S. author Sue Miller, the drama revolves around a grass courtroom bat-

tle for the child's custody. One of three movies released this fall about women on trial, *The Good Mother* is indicative of Hollywood's increasing interest in creating more-oriented movies with strong roles for women. In *The Accused*, released last month, Jodie Foster portrays the victim of a gang rape who must defend herself in court against allegations that she asked for it. And this week marks the release of *A Cry in the Dark* starring Meryl Streep, a true story that chronicles the witch-hunt against an Australian mother wrongly convicted of murdering her baby (page 60).

*The Accused* and *A Cry in the Dark* specifically focus on women's issues; their protagonists are victims of public scandals based on sexual stereotypes. But *The Good Mother* is not so clear-cut. Set in Cambridge, Mass., and filmed mostly in Toronto, the movie raises some delicate issues. And it covers a range of subjects including child custody, the sexual curiosity of children, the power of the courts and the conflict between maternal and erotic instincts.

Recently divorced, Anna (Keaton) meets a free-spirited young sculptor named Leo, portrayed by Irish actor Liam Neeson. Leo se-

duces Anna to his farmhouse loft. Gradually and gently, he introduces her to an unexplored world of passion and sexuality that she had never enjoyed with her husband. Anna's daughter, Molly, played by seven-year-old Toronto actress Anna Vienna, accepts the new boyfriend, who has virtually moved in with her mother. But while visiting her father on a weekend, she tells him about touching Leo's penis. In fact, she had seen Leo sleeping next to the shower and asked to touch it. In a rarely her candor, he confessed. It was a fleeting and harmless moment, not an act of molestation. But Molly's father, assuming the worst, runs for custody. And Anna's lawyer (Gina Rodriguez) urges her to sacrifice her relationship with Leo instead of trying to convert a conservative judge to a liberal philosophy of sexual education.

The story involves some complex psychology and the film-makers seem to have quite different views about what it all means. Director Leonard Nimoy, who became famous as Mr. Spock, Star Trek's golden-eyed Vulcan, says that the movie's central issue is the age-old conflict between motherhood and sexuality. "It's the classic dilemma between the Madonna and the whore," and Nimoy. "I think it is a particular problem for men to perceive their partners as women who have sex." On the other hand, producer Arnold Glusker maintains that the movie is first and foremost "a powerful statement that the ideals of the 1960s are unworkable in the 1980s." Glusker—whose first production was *Goodbye to the Moon*, the story of genetic researcher Dean Fenwick—says that he is committed to making movies about social issues. He calls *The Good Mother* a "political film."

But Keaton prefers to see it as a personal story. Asked about the common perception that it is a feminist movie, she said: "How, what does that mean exactly? I don't see it that way myself. I thought it was about a particular woman in a particular situation. In a way, she walked it to happen. She brought it on herself. Even though it was an accident, it was one of those accidents where you kind of wonder." Added Keaton: "I guess someone could see it as an erotic movie. But I didn't. I saw it more psychologically."

Regardless of her opinion, the Disney-owned studio Touchstone Pictures is marketing *The Good Mother* as an issue movie. The advertisements pose the question: "Can a court determine how we should live, how we should love, how we should raise our children?" Initially, however, Disney executives were leery about exempt such questions on the big screen. Glusker recalls that when he first approached his friend, Touchstone chairman Michael Eisner, about doing the project, "Michael said 'I think it's a television movie. It's inelegant and it deals with issues I don't think we can touch.'" Prime-time television leads to dramatic tough issues more readily than theatrical features. "In a TV movie," Glusker added, "they can

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## FILMS

And with dangerous subjects. It doesn't cost too much money to make. And there is a large audience for topical issues. But do people want to come and pay \$6 to be abused?" A movie producer. Glavchev finally convinced Keston that *The Good Mother* was worthy of the big screen. Ninco, another relatively unknown filmmaker, was hired to direct. Although he had directed two Star Trek movies and scored a co-star role with the 1987 comedy *Three Men and a Cray*, Ninco had no experience making serious drama. At first, he had trouble convincing Disney executives to accept Keston for the lead, because of her lingering image as a comedy actress in such

standing. Keston's attempt to convince the studio with the material "The book is pretty wild," said Keston. "I mean, well, And obviously, the movie is based down from the book, but there's a core of her that is still there in some way." In putting down the book's message, the script and a scene by Glavchev explains that it leaves out the details of Anna's divorce because "people who are divorcing are the most boring people to be with; you don't want to be with them at a party and you don't want to be with them at a movie." However, most critics in the movie's explanation of the story's most important relationship—the one between mother and child. Miller's novel describes the undercurrents of

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Ninco, Keston and Keston touching on emotional terrain that Hollywood rarely explores

Woody Allen movies in Anne Miller. To make his case, he put together a reel featuring her dramatic work from *Blue* (1981) and *Short* (the Moon) (1982). Meanwhile, Keston had experienced about accepting the role. Portraying the pain of a mother faced with the loss of her child did not worry her, she said. But she was concerned about the love scenes. "I thought, 'Who's going to want to watch movie this one?'" recalled the 42-year-old actress. "Who's going to buy that? The idea that she was without clothes, that was one thing. And then there was the 'outward'." In the end, Keston remained strategically draped in the sex scenes. And the intimacy proved to be unproblematic. "I really liked Liam," she said of her co-star. "I liked doing it."

In bringing Miller's novel to the screen, the film-makers have captured the story to some extent. The book contains sexual scenes that are usually explicit yet critical to under-

standings. Keston's attempt to convince the studio with the material "The book is pretty wild," said Keston. "I mean, well, And obviously, the movie is based down from the book, but there's a core of her that is still there in some way." In putting down the book's message, the script and a scene by Glavchev explains that it leaves out the details of Anna's divorce because "people who are divorcing are the most boring people to be with; you don't want to be with them at a party and you don't want to be with them at a movie." However, most critics in the movie's explanation of the story's most important relationship—the one between mother and child. Miller's novel describes the undercurrents of

BRIAN D. JOHNSON is New York City

# An outback tragedy

A new movie explores the 'Dingo Baby' case

A CRY IN THE DARK  
Directed by Fred Schoep

In *A Cry in the Dark* sounds unimpeachable. First, it features Meryl Streep trying to get another account. Second, it is the outrageous saga of an Australian mother who is charged with murder after a wild animal has killed her baby. Finally, the movie comes from Cancon Entertainment Inc., known mainly for hard action pictures. But first

der Australia's famous Ayers Rock when their baby disappeared. In the dark, Lady could make out a dog in Australia wild dog slinking away from the baby's tent. She was after it, but neither the police nor the state's body was ever found. Later, the baby's blood-stained clothing offered the only clue. The media pursued the tragedy like sharks in a feeding frenzy. Because Lady and Michael were Seventh-day Adventists, they were easy targets for religious intolerance. And as the publicity



Next, Streep: media misinformation in a murder case led to a kind of group psychosis

impression can be deceiving. Streep—who used strange vocal contortions to sound Polish in *Sophia's Choice* and Danish in *Out of Africa*—offers an Australian accent so credible that, for once, her mimicry does not distract from her performance. *A Cry in the Dark* sounds like a screenwriter's darkened conception but it tells the true story of Lindy Chamberlain (Streep) and her husband, Michael (Sam Neill). And despite Cancon's reputation the movie is a mesmerizing drama that exposes the horror of media sensationalism. It cuts to the quick with least reform.

The movie played a dramatic role in the case of Lindy Chamberlain, who was accused of murdering her nine-week-old daughter, Azaria, during a 1980 trip in the Australian outback. Lady and Michael were camped at

night, until the ugly rumors. Among the lies passed off as front-page news that Lady and Michael were part of a pedophile sect, that the native Azaria meant "sacrifice in the wilderness" and that Lady had slit Azaria's throat.

Provoked by the media witch-hunt, the courts charged Lady with murder. Although there was no body, no motive and no murder weapon, she was convicted on flimsy forensic evidence that was later refuted. Lady was sentenced to life imprisonment at hard labor. Michael, convicted as an accessory, was given a suspended sentence so that he could care for their two sons. But while Lady languished in jail—giving birth to another daughter shortly after she began her sentence—her tribulation incited massive public sympathy. Australia's author John Poyser's 1985 book, *Life*

though which inspired the movie, had withstood any. Shortly after its publication, the authorities convinced Lady's sentence and released her. Finally, two months ago, Australia's Northern Territory Court of Criminal Appeal quashed the earlier conviction and recommended the Chamberlains.

The movie is clearly sympathetic to the Chamberlains. Streep and Neill, who last played opposite each other as wartime lovers in *Schindler's List* (1993), both give tightly controlled performances. Possibly because both spent time with the real Chamberlains: the portrayals are grainy authentic, unembellished by lesser sentiment. In fact, it was the Chamberlains' lack of visible emotion in talking to the media that first aroused suspicion about the couple. When they failed to play their part as victims of a tragedy, journalists react them as perpetrators of a crime.

Streep plays Lady as a brave, no-nonsense woman with a wary appreciation of her absurd situation. As Lady watches the media spread malicious gossip, she reacts with amused disbelief. Later, she defends herself with caustic sarcasm in the courtroom. When her lawyer warns that she is "not giving over well with the jury" and suggests that she act "more demure," Lady stubbornly replies: "I am the way I am and I won't be squashed into some dumb act for the public." Streep's Lady often seems cold and dispassionate. But just weeks after seeing the movie, the real Lady praised Streep for doing "a truly amazing job." She called her performance "genuinely perfect."

Australian director Fred Schoep handles an explosive story with appropriate tact. Instead of suggesting a who-dunnit formula on the drama, he makes the Chamberlains' innocence absolutely clear from the beginning. And, rather than let the movie become a big-screen extension of media sensationalism, he takes the tables on journalists and shows how it can systematically distort the truth. In an idling room, a TV news producer ruminates a clip of Lady describing the dogs and says, "I want some so-f-it sense here."

During the trial, reporters, baffled by rumors of forensic evidence, wonder how the word "hemoglobin" will fit into a headline.

Schoep not only shows how the news is manufactured, but how the public devours it. Further. Throughout the movie, he portrays ordinary Australians in bars, restaurants and at dinner parties avidly speculating about the Chamberlains. "It's the old gas-the-guilty routine," explained Schoep. "Media manipulation and waving suggestions kept refueling each other. Eventually, it brought about a kind of group emotional madness." The movie leaves the audience tormented with pity and rage. Cutting back into the heart of the human condition, *A Cry in the Dark* ends as it begins with a tragic sense of loss.

BRUCE D. JOHNSON

# SO DISTINCTIVE. SO BEEFEATER



SO DISTINCTIVE. SO BEEFEATER

# Doctor Strangelove

How Ewen Cameron experimented with minds

A cold war describes two souls talking in heaven, the writer rants in this recent memoir and says, "See the guy over there with the long white beard and stoic visage? That's God—He's playing doctor." This fall, three books offer a more sober view of the doctor-to-doctor syndrome by analyzing the controversial career of one of the giants of Canadian psychiatry. Scottish-born Ewen Cameron, an alumnus of Montreal's Allan Memorial Institute—an affiliate of McGill University—from 1943 to 1968, the enigmatic and enigmatic Cameron ran one of the most respected centres of psychiatric research in North America. At various stages in his career, Cameron served as president of the Canadian, American and world psychiatric associations. But, according to most former patients and many critics, almost all of Cameron's pioneering treatments did more harm than good. Much of Anne Gillies's *In My Sleep Room: The Story of the CIA Brainwashing Experiments in Canada* (Scribner & Co., \$24.95) and Nancy Weintraub's *A Father a Son and the CIA* (Simon & Schuster, \$24.95) offer chilling portraits of Cameron's victims. Gordon Thomas's *Journey Into Madness: Medicine, Torture and the Mind Control Unit* (Harper, \$24.95), meanwhile, looks at the work of doctors who he claims are Cameron's professional heirs—doctors involved in political torture and mind control.

Cameron's own methods included brainwashing experiments for which he received almost \$75,000 in secret funding from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency between 1962 and 1966, through a project code-named MKUltra. In 1967, Cameron died of a heart attack while reviewing a videotape in the Adlonapalace, and, within a decade, his once-unassailable reputation had become astonishingly tarnished. And the CIA's controversial role in 1970s spy wars in Canada's experiments landed a highly publicized lawsuit against the U.S. government. Recently, eight of them and the volume of another reached a settlement in 1997: \$500 collective settlement for damages.

Gillies and Weintraub paint a similar picture of Cameron as a man driven by a sincere but self-deluding doctor-lover-best obsessions to find a cure for schizophrenia, depression and other mental disorders. He exposed to dozens of Allan patients treatments that in extreme cases wiped out years of memory and left them broke-down victims of their former selves. All three authors make it clear that Cameron did so in the name of behavioral psychology. Psychiatry was then divided into two camps



Collapsing: chilling portraits of the doctor's victims

as the physical—or behavioral—and the psychosomatic. Derived from the theories of Sigmund Freud, the psychosomatic method was time-consuming, costly and—in the opinion of its critics—lacking in scientific rigor.

He viewed the human mind in little more than a blank slate on which a person's experience could be written—or erased. As a result, thoughts could easily be changed by controlling someone's environment.

That theory lay behind the brainwashing experiments designed by scientists from various countries during and after the Second World War. It was part of the era's overly optimistic belief in social engineering and its Cold War fixation with mind

control. And it was also the ideology in whose service Ewen Cameron led his Allan colleagues employed a technologically aggressive therapeutic arsenal in their war against mental illness. Those weapons included the hallucinogen LSD, massive doses of electroconvulsive shock treatment (ECT), drug-induced sleep therapy and insulin comas lasting sometimes for weeks. One of Cameron's most controversial innovations was "pepser driving."

That method involved subjecting patients to a seemingly endless stream of boring broadcasts of taped messages played under their pillows while they slept, or sometimes through barely-losing bedfellows whom they were herb asleep and amiable. By using such a variety of techniques, Cameron hoped to break down or "de-pattern" personalities and remodel them in order to help patients lead more productive lives.

In the vast majority of cases, that did not happen. Worse, Cameron's methods caused many patients lasting harm—from neurological damage to debilitating memory loss and the depletion of having been used against their will as human prison pigs. These still have haunting nightmares of their experiences at the Allan. One of the first to breach the CIA lawsuit was Winnipeg native Val Orlowski, now 71, who was treated experimentally at the Allan between 1956 and 1966. According to her husband, David, a longtime MP for Inco Winnipeg, Orlowski emerged from the hospital in "only 50 per cent of her old self." In her book, "In her great moment of lucidity, she was framed by its grandmotherly halo of white hair you can see the work of a life and creative intelligence."

Weintraub's *A Father a Son and the CIA* presents another chilling portrait of Cameron's victims. As now a psychiatrist at Columbia's Stanford University, Weintraub was a Montreal teenager when his 46-year-old father, suffering from acute anxiety, was subjected to Cameron's CIA-sponsored experiments (between 1956 and 1961, the elder Weintraub received powerful combinations of sleep-inducing drugs, ECT and LSD). Instead of helping, however, those acid sessions left his son with a costly optimism level in social engineering and its Cold War fixation with mind

Cameron: self-deluding



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ly. Indeed, as Weinstein admits, trying to come to terms with what he calls the "lives" of his father was the primary motivation behind his own decision to become a psychiatrist.

That has also facilitated a strong desire for justice. And in describing his involvement in the lengthy and frustrating CIA lawsuit—which forms a major part of his book—Weinstein is candid about what he takes "to secret agency gone awry" and both the U.S. and Canadian governments for failing "to end secrecy and the legal system." At the same time, he carefully points out that the book is not an indictment of his profession but "of our psychiatry." Yet Weinstein says that many of Cameron's colleagues endorsed or circumvented his methods. Others, who were disgusted, found it to be too close to their conscience.

Although occasionally verging on melodrama, Weinstein writes movingly of the impact his father's mutual destruction has had on him. But by refusing to be more critical of his profession's complexity, he strenuously refuses to otherwise condemn one against Cameron, whom he describes as a man whose "insanity and rapidly slid into a process of dehumanizing the very patients that he was trying to save."

In *Journey Into Madness*, Gertraud Thomson writes that Edwin Cameron is not an isolated example of a doctor who betrayed medical ethics. A veteran British journalist, Thomson points out in his sprawling investigative study that the complicity of doctors in furthered evil runs as far back as the Roman Empire and, in recent times, includes the experiments of German and Japanese physicians during the Second World War. He makes the provocative but well-documented argument that Cameron's work has found its logical extension in present-day political interrogation and torture: in more than 90 nations around the world—including Iran, the Soviet Union, Lebanon and countries in Latin America—doctors readily assist oppressive governments and imperial organizations in their dealings with political dissidents and hostages. They offer their expertise in various ways: by maintaining victims on a regimen of debilitating drugs; by supervising their torture and by falsifying official post-mortem reports to disguise the reasons for their deaths.

Thomson's most disturbing example concerns the terrible ordeal of CIA agent William Buckley at the hands of one of the most notorious practitioners of medical torture, Dr. Aziz Al-Nabi. Buckley was captured in 1964 by mem-

bers of Hizbullah, an Iranian-backed Shiite Muslim terrorist organization, operating in Lebanon, and held hostage in Beirut for 614 days before he died. But one of the names of his wife, writes Thomson, was the fact that, like Hizbullah, "the CIA had used mind doctors to convert highly sensitive men, including the corpse of patients."

Although Thomson never calls Cameron a deliberate torturer, he details both his ill-fated experiments and other treatments, including lobotomy. Like other psychiatrists in the 1940s and 1950s, Cameron performed lobotomies—a form of psychotherapy that relieved individuals of their stresses and depressions by destroying part of their brains. These

of *Journey Into Madness*. Callous is admirably forthcoming in her discussion of the persistence of Cameron's war, despite all his years in Montreal, another learned French man exchanged his American citizenship for Canadian. She reveals how, as an idealist but brilliant psychiatrist, full of Christian energy who religiously secured a steady stream of funding and attracted bright talent to the Allan, he was also capable of cooking or broiling carcasses with a phone call. Indeed, his power was so absolute that most viewed him with a mixture of awe and fear—including those patients who insisted that his treatment had made them better.

And although Cameron was motivated by the desire to save unhappy lives (and a wish to



David and Val Oshkover: she launched a suit against the CIA for funding Cameron's experiments

save his own-life view of Cameron something a terrified lobotomy victim with a screaming, "Just treat me, please," was some portrait of an outcast growing over an empire made up, in Thomson's words, of "the living dead."

*Journey Into Madness* also offers a useful account of the complex political dimensions of Lebanon and intriguing glimpses into U.S. global intelligence operations. But in the end, those glimpses fail to connect directly with Thomson's "doctors of terror" theme and instead seem to reportorial showmanship than to coherent argument.

Callous ends by telling us that trap. The focus of her book is narrower than Thomson's but wider than Weinstein's. Perceptive and honest, it strikes a deft balance between the subjective limitations of A. Fisher, a Son and the CIA and some of the emblematic practitioners

he awarded a Nobel Prize for doing so). Callous writes that Cameron's insecurity and massive ambition blinded him from recognizing that his gifts did not lie in merely saving Callous. "The trouble was that while Cameron's thinking on science was impeccable in the abstract, it was dangerous as he put it to practice."

Callous says that Cameron was less a mad scientist than a would-be Prometheus bound by what she calls the "great man" myth of severe intellectual and the naive expectations of his age. That his patients were victimized by a man whose humane goals were corrupted by misplaced vanity, only heightens their tragedy—and his. In the end, Cameron fell from grace because he stood against his own medical profession's golden rule: "Do no harm."

MORRIS RITTS

# The naked city

Timothy Findley goes home to Toronto

In the past, novelist Timothy Findley's imagination has roamed far afield. The author has set his novels in locations as diverse as the battlefields of France (*The Wars*), a castle in Switzerland (*Passions Last Words*), a seaside resort in Maine (*The Telling of Lies*) and on Noah's ark (*Not Wanted on the Voyage*). In his new collection of short stories, *Stories*, he has returned to his own backyard to explore a world topographically generic but so rich in meaning that the more exotic locales he has favored in the past. Findley, who lives on a farm outside Toronto, has set all but two of the most stories in and around the city. Findley's Toronto is the metropolis of the world-class serenity provided by the Great Lakes. Its central message (and the bizarre bookends) is: it's home. But rather than the Queen Street Mental Health Centre with all its schizophrenic secrets, its citizens are not the smoothly functioning creatures they would like to be, but dream walkers treading dangerously close to madness.

In stories in elegant and polished as cut

glass Findley sympathetically chronicles the cruel underside of characters who escape from bourgeoisie to emotional patients. One of them, Morris Joyce, a writer who figures in the first two stories, clearly resembles the author in her compassion for the tortured psyches of those around her. Based in an affluent home in Rosedale, she suffers a nervous breakdown and is committed to an institution by a mother who hates her. Writes Findley: "Quietly, with dignity and calm, she lay beneath the surface of her tranquillizer, plotting the overthrow of all the cooing mothers in the world—and all the sentimental, intellectual fathers—not to mention all the obedient, docile doctors."

After her release, Morris moves to Parkdale, a neighborhood that is home to the Queen Street Mental Health Centre and that is populated by former—and in some cases future—patients. She takes a job as a waitress in a café on Queen Street from which she can observe the Mental Health Centre. She explains that she has two motives. The first is to watch the institution. "You never know my fate," she

says to one of her pre-teen friends, "but they'll do to you behind your back." The second is to shock her mother, who she hopes might "drift by one day and find her cast-off, screwed-up daughter working behind the counter at the Marlford Café—drap-head of shock and awe the world's constant mascot of her presence."

Like Findley, Joyce champions the dispossessed and attacks the sinister repressiveness of the society in which she was raised. She manages to keep one step ahead of her demons by becoming a writer, a that way going voice to the anguish she experiences within and around her. But other characters are lured along by the siren song that Findley portrays as the deadliest enemy of all. In the story *Flare*, an eccentric scholar on the verge of a nervous breakdown walks along Bloor Street on a money morning of it through a procession of the dead. The sound of traffic is never muffled by the snow, and the faces of the shoppers are impervious and withdrawn. Writes Findley: "They moved, Morris thought—going at them through the falling snow—with the lead of apathy acquired by those whose something—happiness—has taught that nothing waits for those who hurry home."

In another harrowing story, *Deviant*, a couple who are both psychotics dealing with abjectly withdrawn parents confront the limits of their scientific wisdom. Findley covers the bleakness of their overly rational, workable lives in a chillingly compact description of daylight in their apartment tower,



Findley: stories attacking the comfortable certainties of modern urban life

which is dominated by the tall Mandela Centre across the street. "The shadow of the Mandela would crowd across the bedroom floor and climb the bed behind her, grey with fatigue and cold," he writes. Unable to communicate to their parents or to each other, they are in the end engulfed by madness.

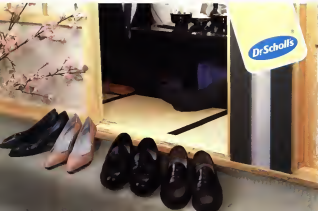
In a less gruesome vein, Findley takes pleasure in removing the safe underpinnings from the lives of middle-class characters and watching them squirm. In *Alphabet*, a cold, hypocritical woman takes her son and daughter to school, where she privately delights in the children's language of the Royal Ontario Museum.

For each "Mrs. Alphabet believed the flag of family unity had to be waved periodically in other people's faces, otherwise, the world was bound to sink," writes Findley. Alphabet takes her greatest pleasure in sending a socially acceptable message in a highly respectable location. She is capable of deep feeling and when she confronts the chaos in her family history that left her occasionally paralyzed, she loses her bearings completely.

In the subtly baroque tale *The Sky*, a paranoid stockbroker who suspects his wife of infidelity goes subtly berserk during a Toronto Symphony concert at Roy Thomson Hall. His repressed terms manifest themselves in a blur of falling objects, and he runs from the concert hall in mid-performance because of a premonition that the roof is about to collapse. Afterward, as he reluctantly acknowledges his disastrous party, he weeps. "All he could think of was how easy his looks might have to fall before it all got by," writes Findley.

In three engagingly ambiguous stories, Findley stuns down his own shambles on the comfortable certainties of modern urban life. He leaves an indelible mark on a Toronto landscape that will never seem quite so solid again.

GILLIAN MACKAY



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# No pot of gold

A new book attacks corporate concentration

WRONG END OF THE RAINBOW: THE COLLAPSE OF FREE ENTERPRISE IN CANADA

By Eric Kierse and Walter Stewart  
(Collier, 232 pages, \$29.95)

The release of *Wrong End of the Rainbow*, a scathing attack on corporate concentration, was almost prearranged. In recent months, lawmakers in the United States have reached record levels, and last week two New York City-based firms, Philip Morris Cos. Inc. and Kraft Inc., emerged in a \$38.2-billion agreement—the second-largest takeover bid in the world.

At the same time, Wall Street's gold-and-silver obsession—the government believes that finance much of the action with high-interest bonds—is being hit by at least \$10 billion in new transactions. The authors Eric Kierse and Walter Stewart contend that the buy-out artists, the brightest stars of high commerce in the 1980s, are actually destroying the free-market system. They argue that the modern corporation is nothing more than "a bundle of assets, cause orienting for its sole and resolute vision from a group of men capable of producing goods and services and capable of reducing the community's standard of living."

Kierse, an economist and former Liberal Finance Minister, and Stewart, author of 11 books and a former managing editor of *Northern*, say that the takeover artists are the cutting edge of the modern corporation. In their view, the authors argue, they are leaving two main problems: corporate power is becoming more concentrated in the hands of a few executives, while multinational corporations grow ever powerful than governments. Huge international companies, Kierse and Stewart contend, now operate largely outside of government control, and popular political philosophy holds that what is good for the company must be good for everyone.

In that dispute the authors say the wisdom of a free-trade agreement between Canada and the United States is suspect. Canadians would be hurt, they say, because the agreement

would throw upon Canada the full brunt of American corporate power. Kierse and Stewart say, "There is a new and dangerous corporate world, in which rates is paid and greed rewarded. As corporate capitalism turns on itself, its value to and credibility in society declines." Before reaching that conclusion, the authors offer a fascinating history of the corporation. They make the case that as many large firms have grown larger and stronger with each generation of owners, they have taken control of



Stewart, Kierse, warning about takeover artists

markets by reducing the number of rivals. The book also points the finger at government intervention. The authors say that instead of regulating the corporations and controlling their growth and power, legislatures have helped them expand through tax breaks and policies that permit almost any corporate acquisition. And that corporatist-first policy, they argue, was out of control on May 29, 1983, when the leaders of the Group of Seven nations met in Williamsburg, Va. The leaders of the G7 agreed on a joint economic policy leading to the "convergence of economic performance," indicating that each country's monetary, fiscal and exchange-rate policy would be the subject of negotiation between them. But Kierse and Stewart make an illogical leap

from the Williamsburg meeting to their next conclusion: that economic "convergence" merely makes it easier for U.S. corporations to dominate the Western economic alliance.

To limit increasing corporate power, the authors propose a 10-point strategy based primarily on the assumption that the tax system can be used to curb corporate expansion and redistribute corporate wealth. They also argue that Canada should adopt a style of government similar to that of Sweden, where foreign investment and ownership are more rigorously controlled. And they say that shareholders should get more control over firms.

Oddly, while calling for more government control over the economy, the authors offer a plan for a "real free trade regime." They suggest that instead of jumping into the "American swamp," Canada should progressively lower its tariff and internal barriers on a graduated basis. "Then," they say, "will other countries access to goods at competitive prices and, once more, force our corporations to specific efficiency, or otherwise perish." But, confusingly, the authors fail to acknowledge that the Liberal administration in Canada has been lowering tariffs progressively since the Second World War. And their argument about cheaper consumer prices and increased efficiency has been appropriated by the Conservative government to promote free trade.

In the final analysis, *Wrong End of the Rainbow* reads like a political tract that was penned in the early 1970s, when government intervention in business was a popular idea. But with economic power growing steadily, Kierse and Stewart's views may yet be recommended to control those vast corporations.

TOM PENNELL

## MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

### FICTION

- 1 *The Eyes of Orpheus*, Davies (2)
- 2 *Car's Eye*, Atwood (3)
- 3 *The Bridge*, Powers (2)
- 4 *The Cardinal of the Kremlin*, Clancy (2)
- 5 *Alexis*, Richter (2)
- 6 *Tell Me What You're Thinking*, Erickson (2)
- 7 *The House of the Living Dead* (2)
- 8 *Zen*, Steel (2)
- 9 *Koko*, Stroud (2)
- 10 *Golden*, Zand

### NONFICTION

- 1 *The Arctic Circle*, Davies (2)
- 2 *Angels of Fire*, Bly (2)
- 3 *A Book of Henry*, of *Henry* (2)
- 4 *Prison in Time*, Smith and Singer (2)
- 5 *Beloved*, Morrison (2)
- 6 *Seeds of Power*, Stewart (2)
- 7 *Canadian Living: A New Cookbook*, Fraser (2)
- 8 *Convergences*, Powers (2)
- 9 *Book of Miracles*, Raftery (2)
- 10 *The Love of John Lennon*, Goldstein (2)

Compiled by Sandra McGregor

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## The high emotion of free trade

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

The dramatic factor in John Turner's defeat in 1984 was the now-famous moment in the televised debate when he complained he had "no option" on those patronage appointments—as though fished across Brian Mulroney's boat. The turning point in this campaign was also a revealing flash of consciousness under the webbing on his first eye of the cameras. Mulroney's face was all on the defensive at this moment, temporarily confused, when he tried to parry an angry Turner with the excuse that the free trade agreement could be cancelled within six months. Well, that, he miscalculated, his message that Turner would "tie up" the agreement it elicited. How anxious, the voter wonders, is a government that is thinking even now of the escape hatch of cancelling this great deal in its moment? That was the moment when the audience sat up.

The problem the proponents of free trade have is that they are all numbers and figures, statistics and dollars, quotes and tariffs. They don't really understand their own country at all. If Canadians were really interested in trying to equal the American standard of living—dollar for dollar, crane rate for crane rate—they would have opted long ago for complete integration, surrender as the 51st state. They didn't (and they won't this time) because they realize there is something more important than the mere numbers and figures that Brian Mulroney, belligerent up to a bristly-pointed compromise, with a broad-plate nose, chief and scepter.

Galen Colledge once said, "The chief business of the American people is business." But the business of Canada is not business. It is figuring out how to survive as an independent entity next to the richest and most powerful nation in the history of what passes for civilization. It has done a first-worlding job of this for 121 years, and now the bean counters in the Tory courtship house want to throw in the chips and tear down the border.

There is a tiny analogy with the European Common Market and how it hasn't destroyed national identities. Aside from the fact that



those identities have been nurtured for countless centuries and not 121 years, there is another small matter. There are 57 million people in Britain. Fifty-six million in France. Sixty-one million in West Germany. Fifty-seven million in Italy—before you even start to count the poorer partners. There is balance; no one country can dominate. That's the nothing to do with the cockle-shell scheme that would put a country that has the same population as California into bed with a giant of 258 million.

The business mind-set of the free trade boys charges that those of us who oppose the deal are arguing on emotional grounds. Right? For once they've got it right. If it weren't for emotion, there wouldn't be such an ill-fated thing as Canada. The whole concept doesn't make sense. 25 million people strong out to a population density less than that of South Afri-

ca. And with a northeast, larger than India, speckled by fewer people than a single baseball game in Madison Stadium.

Of course it's emotion that has kept this satirical bundle of geography intact. The building of the CTS, when you think of it, was an emotional, daring act of the imagination to lead a nation. Every morning, five days a week, there is an equivalent ritual building—Peter Gosselin's brilliant *Montreal* daily that brings emotion and patriotism to every kitchen and car radio, a concept unheard of in the United States, where such a thing as a state broadcasting service is viewed as vaguely socialist, which of course it is.

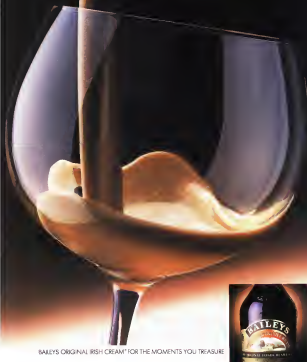
Bertrand Brim's original *As if Hesperus* was all emotion, warning that Canada's reach into the world, contacted by telephone. If you want to read Pierre Berlioz's best book, forget the historical pageantry—read the one when he took his lefts back to his Tassie, stars and shined down the river on a raft. If you want Peter Newman's best, forget the meaning of the Establishment's toys and go to his *How Country*, his love poem to Canada on arrival from Czechoslovakia. Or read Bruce Hutchison's new book, *A Life in the Country*. To Canada with Love and Some Moping, an 87-year-old man's passionate affair with his woodland on Vancouver Island. Emotion. All emotion. It's something the bean counters in Ottawa's courtship house wouldn't understand.

Turner, who has always struck an observer as a man in search of himself, has let a spark in his desperate attempt to finish his political career on a dramatic note—whether in defeat or victory. One suspects the vital ingredient, appeared in the TV debate, was emotion, a refined fury that, whether faked or sincere, put Mulroney back on his heels.

Four years ago, it was the opposite, an upstart Mulroney promising Turner on the patronage issue. Now, blue-eyed John has lost the election—and the same Canadians are so proud that they don't really understand the implications of free trade because it is his newly ready laws exposed to them by a government that is vaguely ashamed of never including it in its 1984 platform.

But Carney is now all of it. John Crabbie's bluster and one-liners rather trivialized it. Michael Wilson couldn't sell beer on a trawpship. Ed Broadbent seems suddenly old, his silver hair here. The surprising factor, the focal point, is that Turner is carrying the argument, is making the story. The costume speaker who has been asked around the table is carrying it to the bean counters.

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